



Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement

GOA FREEDOM STRUGGLE

VIS-A-VIS

MAHARASHTRA

1946-1960-1961

VOL. VIII-PART I

VOL. VIII-PART II

Edited by. : Dr. B. G. Kunte

GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA
MUMBAI

(Collected from Maharashtra Government Records)

PREFACE

In January 1953 the Government of India appointed a Board of Editors for the compilation of a History of the Freedom Movement in India. In order to assist and collect material the Central Board of Editors requested all the State Governments to set up State Committees in every State. Accordingly, the then Bombay State formed the Bombay State Committee for a History of the Freedom Movement in India in November 1953. This Committee worked for a few years and in September 1956 was dissolved. It, however, recommended to the State Government to continue the office and publish the Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement. The Committee with the Late Prof. Palande, as Executive Secretary, brought out two volumes on Source Material, one dealing with the period from 1818 to 1885 and the other from 1885 to 1920. Prof. Phatak took charge of the Committee as Executive Secretary in 1958. Under his guidance three volumes were published pertaining to Source Material on Mahatma Gandhi. In 1973 the office of the Committee was discontinued and the staff was merged with the Gazetteers Department which was entrusted with the task of completing the rest of the work. The department has so far completed the series in the Source Material pertaining to Mahatma Gandhi by bringing out four additional volumes. The department proposes to bring out the Source Material for the most crucial period in the Freedom Struggle viz., 1920-1947. It is envisaged to publish this vast Source Material contained in the records of Home Department, Inspector General of Police, Commissioner of Police, Archives etc., of the Government of Maharashtra in 15 to 20 volumes, covering subjects such as Civil Disobedience Movement, Khilafat, Quit India Movement, Revolutionary activities in Maharashtra, Revolutionary activities in Vidarbha, Revolutionary activities in Marathwada, Gandhiji in Maharashtra, and Political Parties and Personalities during freedom struggle etc. These volumes will also contain material from the Archives of the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu on the Freedom Struggle in Goa vis-a-vis Maharashtra and from the Archives of the Governments of Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh pertaining to the districts of Marathwada and Vidarbha regions of the present State of Maharashtra, but which formerly formed parts of these respective States. The material from these numerous sources would be collected subject-wise and individual-wise and would be published as and when the compilation and collection as stated above is completed. As such it would be very difficult to maintain the publication in chronological sequence, in the narration of events, in the history of Freedom Struggle. This means that source material pertaining to non-co-operation movement in Bombay City during 1919-25 may not be followed by that of in 1930, 1931 or 1932 or for that matter by the source material on Khilafat Movement.

This volume is entitled ' Goa Freedom Struggle *vis-a-vis* Maharashtra '. It deals with the most glorious period of the ' Quit Goa' movement started by the people of Goa. For the first time this volume places before the public sustained story of the activities of the Goan peoples struggle to the period when Goa, Diu and Daman were finally liberated from the Portuguese Rule. Though Goa Freedom Struggle has a long history of many rebellions, still the final phase was started by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia when he offered *Satyagraha* for Civil Liberties in 1946. The attention of the public was focussed on this issue because of the action of Dr. Lohia. Dr. Lohia was a well-known freedom fighter in India and an all India figure. Questions were raised in the Lok-Sabha and the Prime Minister gave replies. Dr. Lohia, N. G. Gore, Sudha Joshi, Appa Karmarkar, Dr. Nagesh Desai, B. T. Cunha, Loyalo, Dr. Lavande, Kakodkar, Dr. J. M. Furtado, Devu Gonsavi, Dr. Telu Mascarenhas, Mohan Ranade, Raghuvir Kamat. Laxmikant Bhembre, Deshpande and many other people suffered imprisonments in the Goa and Portuguese jails and they will always be remembered by Goans because of their sacrifices to the cause of Freedom struggle.

There were two major organizations which spearheaded the Goan Freedom Struggle viz., Azad Gomantak Dal and Goa Congress Committee. Then came the National Goa Congress Committee and Goa Peoples Party. All these organizations were united and came together as the struggle intensified.

In Bombay City this movement received the strongest possible support from B.P.C.C, C.P.I, and Socialist Party. The people of Bombay City always thronged in large numbers for meetings held to express sympathy for the Goan cause. It is also interesting to note that the then Bombay Government did not take any action against persons who had become traitors from the view point of the Portuguese Government, which had protested against their activities and who had escaped to Bombay to avoid the rigours of Portuguese rule. They were simply warned.

In spite of the heavy odds the Goan People kept the flame of the Freedom Struggle burning by calling public meetings, issuing leaflets and giving warm welcome to those who came out of the Portuguese jails. It was through these tactics that they were able to keep the Goa question alive.

Due to Goan peoples activities finally ' Goa Vimochan Samiti' was formed consisting of all the Political Parties in India. It was under the banner of G.V.S. that *Satyagraha* was launched for the first time in 1954. A strong public opinion was created in India which finally compelled the Government of India to take military action and liberate Goa.

This volume throws light on how the leaders of this movement were critical about Government of Indias' peaceful negotiations policy, perhaps out of impulsiveness as also of their inability to understand the grave implications of a policy of confrontation by the Government of India. It was the International political situation and heavy repression in Goa by

Salazar that ultimately compelled the Government of India to act and finally liberate Goa from Portuguese Rule. The volume is mainly a narration of events from 1946 to 1961 when Goa Freedom Struggle really became a mass movement.

In the compilation and collation of this volume, I was assisted by Dr. V. N. Gurav, Deputy Editor, Shri M. H. Ranade, Research Officer, Shri S. K. Khilare, Research Officer, Shri B. N. Phatak, Superintendent, Sarvashri K. Z. Raut and D. J. Nawadkar, Research Assistants and SarvaShri R. S. Kumbhar and D. A. Tendulkar, Assistants, typists Shri S. G. Shetye, Smt. U. S. Bhagwat, Shri L. N. Tawade, to all of whom my thanks are due. I am also thankful to the Commissioner of Police, the Deputy Commissioner of Police and the other staff in the records section of the office of the Commissioner of Police for their co-operation and help. My thanks are also due to Shri S. A. Sapre, Director of Printing and Stationery, Government of Maharashtra and Manager, Government Central Press Bombay and other staff of the Press for the expeditious manner in which the present volume was brought out. I am also thankful to my parent department viz., General Administration Department for the kind consideration it has always shown to me in the execution of this important work.

B. G. KUNTE.

Executive Editor and Secretary.

Bombay.

January 1, 1978.

PROLOGUE

I am very glad to bring out the e-Book Edition (CD version) of Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement. This e-book edition is facsimile reproduction of already published volumes.

So far twelve volumes are published under this series. They contain valuable data regarding India's struggle for freedom. These volumes form an important source for the scholars, historians who are interested in studying different phases and dimensions of the freedom movement. The material is collected from Government's secrete and confidential official records. Thus, these volumes have made available that information which was so far not easily accessible to the scholars.

Considering utility of these volumes, need was felt to preserve this treasure of knowledge. In this age of modernization, information and technology have become key words. To keep pace with the changing need of hour, I have decided to bring out a CD version of these volumes. I am sure, scholars and studious persons across the world will find these CDs immensely beneficial.

This CD contains two parts of Volume VIII "Goa Freedom Struggle Vis-a-Vis Maharashtra" published in 1978. This volume was published by Dr. B. G. Kunte.

I am thankful to the Honourable Minister, Shri. Ashokrao Chavan (Industries and Mines, Cultural Affairs and Protocol), and the Minister of State, Shri. Rana Jagjitsinh Patil (Agriculture, Industries and Cultural Affairs), Shri Bhushan Gagrani, (Secretary, Cultural Affairs) Department, Government of Maharashtra for being a constant source of inspiration.

Place: Mumbai

Dr. Arunchandra S. Pathak

Date: 26th January 2007

Executive Editor and Secretary

GOA FREEDOM STRUGGLE

VIS-A-VIS MAHARASHTRA

Administration.

1. Portuguese India Annual for 1935, 2 Indo-Portuguese Review, 3. Lewis Dores De Silva,
4. T. Braganza Cunha, 5. Carlos Da Cruz. Warnings to Nos. 3 and 5.

POLITICAL AND REFORMS DEPARTMENT PAPERS

Request of the Consul General for Portugal to the Government of Bombay to take action against certain persons connected with the " *Portuguese India Annual for 1935* " and the " *Indo-Portuguese Review* " in respect of certain articles appearing therein.

S. R. No. 76.

Bombay, 1st March 1935.

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay,

Political and Reforms Department, Bombay.

Sir.

As desired by the Government of Goa I have the honour to send you the enclosed copy of the "*Portuguese India Annual*" for 1935. printed and published by Mr. Lewis Dores Silva at the Alliance Art Printing Works, Girgaum, Bombay 4, and to request you to be so good as to move the competent authorities to take the necessary action against the editor of the same Annual in respect of two articles appeared in it under the signatures of T. Braganza Cunha and Carlos da Cruz, as these articles offend the national honour and through their medium a defamatory campaign is levelled against Portugal, its Government and Administration and also against the Government of Portuguese India, by twisting the veracity of the facts and by making entirely false allegations.

2. Further I beg to request you that action may also be taken against Mr. Carlos da Cruz who is residing at Kerrawala Mansion, 3rd floor, Carnac Road, Bombay, the same course not being possible to follow here in respect of Mr. Braganza. Cunha as he is residing in Goa.

I have etc.

(Signed) Carlos Da-Mesquita.

Consul General for Portugal.

After issue of the accompanying acknowledgement the papers may be referred unofficially to the Portuguese Translator to Government with a request to furnish translation or summary of the two articles complained of by the Consul General.

Intd. T. B. C. (mitre).

U. O. R. to the Portuguese Translation to Government with the books.

(After issue of acknowledgement)

Dated 6th March 1935.

Returned with translations of the two articles in question.

Intd. 26-3.

Political and Reforms Department.

No. 9384-A.

POLITICAL AND REFORMS DEPARTMENT

Bombay Castle, 6th March 1935.

From :

H. T. Lambrick Esquire,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Political and Reforms Department.

To

The Consul General for Portugal
at Bombay.

Sub.—Articles in the " Portuguese India Annual, 1935 ".

Sir,

I am directed by the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 76, dated the 1st March 1935, complaining against certain articles appearing in the " Portuguese India Annual, 1935 " and to state that it is receiving attention.

I have etc.

(Signed) T. B. CHITU,
For Deputy Secretary to Government
of Bombay, Political and Reforms Department.

Translation of an article in Portuguese published at page 3 of the " Portuguese India Annual, 1935 "

"Naked truths regarding the course of administrative and political affairs in Portuguese India " by Carlos da Cruz.

In order to be able to appreciate dispassionately the atmosphere in which our country lives and to believe the facts in their complete nakedness it is necessary for one to know in the first place that within the frontier of Goa the voice of truth is choked and the liberty of speech is suppressed, which, however, exists in all its fullness to distort facts and to applaud all the administrative and political scandals. There, in the corner of the land which witnessed our birth, there is no " practical" right to protest against the ruinous commands of the powers that be, who have in their service half a dozen hirelings who enjoy complete liberty to deceive the unwary with false and interested propaganda. They are the lick-spittles, the subservients, who always inhabit the dirty lanes of all countries, in the same way as it is difficult to find corn without cockle. The right of assembly exists only for the henchmen of the Government to applaud it in the name of the country which bears the whole yoke with its hands tied. The spirit revolts and indignation is roused at seeing how, in the name of the gagged public, the Government aided by the "charanga" of the *meneures* sings hosannas dancing on the ruins of the country ! One is reminded of Nero entertaining himself on the strings of the lyre in front of the City on fire !

And, to prevent the echo of this orgy the press interested in the good administration of the Country is muzzled. The evidence of this lies in the closing of the *Pracksha* press and in the birth of the *Pradipa*, in the ludicrous proceedings against the *Sandalcalo*, in certain proceedings against the *Bharat*, the *Ultramar* and the *India Portugueza*, and lastly in the official censorship which prohibits even mild criticism of Government measures. With the same object of silencing protests the right of assembly is torpedoed. A voice has been smothered which in the Municipal Corporation of Ilhas was planning for a conjoint meeting of the Municipal Corporations of the Country, which would have protested against the Regulations for the recruitment for military service. The voice was smothered of the President of the (Municipal) Corporation of Bardex, which was also protesting against those Regulations. The support of the Goan Union in favour of the same attitude was rendered useless. Attempts were even made to prevent the great and famous meeting of the emigrants in this City, who vehemently protested against the Colonial Act. The meeting called at Margao to pay a homage to the great leader, Lala Lajpatrai was torpedoed to prevent its being held. A vigorous motion of protest presented by the Vice President of the Municipal Corporation of Salsette was thrown into the dust-bin without even a mention being made of it in the respective record of the proceedings of the meeting of the Corporation. The members of the same Corporation were denied the right to record their

votes against the request for the re-appointment of the present Governor General. And all these arbitrary acts of the Corporation manoeuvred by Government were committed by invoking respect for the Political Constitution of the republic, for the Dictatorial President, for the Head of the Government, for the Governor of the Colony, a respect which means nothing less than pure (lit. authentic) tyranny. The press experienced hard consequences. In officialdom, one or the other dismissal, one or the other head of services punished, military officers and magistrates transferred. some (Municipal) Corporations dissolved, the Indian party persecuted

But, in contrast to the barefaced courage to lie for the purpose of deceiving, those in authority and their henchmen enjoy the greatest liberty, an undisciplined liberty, for false and ridiculous propaganda intended to create in the masses some sympathy for the agents noxious to the interest of the country. Witness the 3rd crop of rice in Siolim which promised to end the shortage of rice. The press friendly to Government created around it (the 3rd crop) a delirious fanfare though all the people knew that the crop produced on a span of the earth with manure and watering-pot in hand was not a crop which would end a crisis. The hosannas sung around the disastrous sale of the State lands, the cultivation of *caju* plants in the fields and the inauguration of bridges were sung too early. The most exaggerated description of the official visits of the Governor General provoked laughter because the henchmen lied and because the Governor himself proudly stated in the (Municipal) Corporation of Ilhas that during his visit to Damaun he had received " Magnificent and formidable" homages. And the speeches of the Governor General showed little scruple, as happened in the case of the Borim bridge in which he attributed to himself the works which did not belong to him. At the banquet offered to the same Governor by the State servants and contractors of Government works, it was stated that it was from the living forces of the State, though these did not exhibit any manifestation of sympathy towards the Government. The address thrusted into the hands of the Hindus was an abuse committed by the henchmen of the persons in authority. The baptism given to the Borim bridge with the name of the Minister Oliveira Salazar is another intolerable abuse committed by the Governor and his adviser. The farce of plebiscite for the voting of the new Constitution of the Republic also proved how the Portuguese administration is carried on in a moral degradation. The Cortalim bridge is reported in the newspapers of Portugal as completed though a beginning has not yet been made of the works, which will take at least 4 or 5 years to complete. A year ago in a report current in Lisbon it was said that the traffic in the Port of Marmugoa had increased owing to the action of the Governor General though this traffic had actually decreased from 1922 to 1932 by 57.4 per cent., which is a formidable decline.

The lie, the false eulogy, the flattery, in contraposition to the truth which is suppressed, is evidenced by the few facts which I have pointed out and which unfortunately cannot, within the restricted ambit of these few lines, have greater and better elucidation. What has been stated above therefore contains the reason why many Goans live in a deception not knowing the true condition of the country of their birth. Having seen the form in which truth is enveloped let us now see some examples in order to have at least a faint idea of what to-day ruins and humiliates the country which yesterday was glorious and rich.

Administrative matters

Autocracy in matters of public administration has attained a very high degree. The laws which are made are dropsical. They indicate a lightness of spirit and premeditation to provide billets for fine lands, as was done in the competition opened for filling up the posts of Inspector of Primary Education and of the Director of the technical school at Valpoi and in the case of the posts of auxiliary professors of the Medical School and of the Sanitary Inspector and of the Health Officer of Marmugoa. The enquiries are dragged on eternally to the detriment of the Institutions and the interests of the State. Public funds are spent with great unconcern and even on objects of vanity. A bridge is going to be built at Cortalim the utility of which nobody contests, but the manner in which the works were estimated is scandalous and the procedure adopted to acquire the necessary funds was ruinous to the Country when we have 18 (?) lakhs of rupees lent to some of the Portuguese Colonies. But the Governor General speaking at the much advertised Imperial conference showed that there was no need of hurry to recover this colossal credit, which we need for improvements of great necessity or for the purpose of avoiding the burden of taxes, which are imposed without any compassion or mercy for the tax payer, or disasters such as the same of the State lands. The public works such as the bridge, at Borim, Usgao, Sanquem and Damaun are an eternal leak in the coffers of the State because only the repairs, the defects and the collapses exhaust thousands of rupees, as recent facts show the irresponsibility of the technical experts of the Government. Allowances and salaries go on increasing and entail enormous expenditure for the State as happens in the case of military pensioners, additional professors attached to the Normal School and the Lyceum. The funds of Corporations and charitable institutions are utilised for providing billets and for satisfying whims. For instance the funds of Hospicio of Margao taken possession of under an enquiry were made use of for creating new posts paid even at the price of gold and for constituting the communities of Velim, Assolna and Ambolim against which valient protests had been raised. The funds of Santa Casa were also used for the new communities. Money was taken from the funds of the (Village) Communities to defray the expenses of the return voyage of the Government adviser brought from Lisbon, where he was, and to create for him the post of Inspector of (Village) Communities with the perquisites pertaining to the 3rd crop and the commission on the profits derived from subletting the fields of village communities and the (drawing up of the) regulations which are dead. They (the rulers ?) deceived the village community of Carambolim by ordering it to purchase the shares of the Village Community of Velim and saying that it was to protect the emigrants that they found themselves in need of the money of the shares purchased and of the shares themselves through intervention of judicial action. They took from the **Santa Casa** and the **Hospicio** nearly 4 lakhs of rupees for the purchase of the shares of the new Village Communities, which after all constitute a dead capital. They did not feel any scruple to take away what was meant for charity. The funds of the Improvement Trust of Marmugoa are being squandered on unnecessary constructions, such as houses for being rented, which however remain without tenants, and on the creation of fat billets such as the post of Sanitary Inspector and the allowance for the Health Officer of Marmugoa. Then there are the enactments reducing the interest on Postal Savings, Bank Deposits, the unjuridical enactments to create a new kind of members of

village communities, the cession of lands, the refusal of the supply of water for winter crops to the children of the soil and ancient possessors of alienated lands. It would be fastidious to enumerate the long series of administrative errors committed by even exceeding legitimate powers as in the case of the immoral and permanent intervention of Government in the affairs of the **Hospicio** of Margao. One cannot, however, refrain from referring to taxes the necessity for which becomes greater every time owing to the squandering of funds and the fat salaries of the high officialdom and specially of the European military officers; whilst in all countries, in view of the depreciation of the value of products and of the economic crisis, a reduction is made in posts and salaries, in Goa the contrary is done. In a country so small that it is not in need of any defence, internal or external, we pay 10 lakhs of rupees to the military and more than 62 lakhs to the civil officials. We, therefore, have taxes of provisional character already tending to be permanent such as the servants of the Improvement Trust of Marmugoa, the attempted taxes on the Insurance business, the 20 per cent, of the hated judicial tax to give fat increase only to European Judicial Officers and only in India! And justice, which is otherwise very costly as only rich people can take advantage of her !

.....We have also to bear the unnecessary expenditure which the Home Government imposes on us without having any regard to our financial condition and without consulting the colony as happened when it ordered us to contribute for defraying the expenses of the passages of the native African troops taken to be exhibited in Portugal, towards the expenses of the commercial exhibition such as those held in Paris, Seville, Antwerp, which were of no advantage to us, and lastly towards the expenses of the Colonial exhibition held at Porto, where in spite of the opposition of the country an ethical mission was taken to represent a characteristic which is not ours nor ever was. This mission, which was a humiliation inflicted on us cost us 26 thousand rupees. Now a days the Colony is not consulted before taxes are imposed or expenses are sanctioned. When it is the will of the rulers there is no need of consultation or vote, because autonomy has been done away with, which before only existed on paper. The Council assisting the Governor is only a Chancellory of Government and the (Municipal) Corporators are its modest branches. It is the feudalism which is about to be born. It is the feudalism which drags the country to an increasing fall in the sources of riches causing an annual commercial deficit of hundred lakhs of rupees, which is met specially by the emigrants who are in the service of the nations beyond frontier. It is the deficit of "assimilation*" in which the Portuguese rulers take pride.

Political matters

To make our present unfortunate lot complete after we had been ruined materially the Central Government now comes forward to throw *phelqm* at our face openly in this fully enlightened century. This Government comes forward to announce to the peoples of the world that in a corner of India there is a people, which requires to be polished and civilised and that Portugal is going to undertake this social work. But supposing that this be true, the Portuguese do not feel ashamed to declare by their very mouths their incompetence and incapacity during a period of 500 years during which Goa has been under the domination of the Portuguese. The very legislation which the Government of the Dictatorship lately decreed for the colonies represents a formal dementi to the propaganda which the

Portuguese are making by praising their colonising enterprise. And for their greatest shame the Constitution is subject to the ridiculous and barefaced mockery of plebiscite which amounts to an expression of an unrestricted absolutism exhibiting to the world a backward people. We are however little interested in the analysis of that *Magna Carta of Slaves*. Let the Portuguese read it with devotion. We are interested, it is true, in the few references which the Constitution makes to us by sending us a *Charter of Slavery*.

(Here the author tries to prove, by comparing article 3 of the Political Constitution of the Portuguese Dictatorial Republic with article 132 of the same constitution and with the Colonial Act, passed under the latter article to form the Constitution of the Portuguese Colonies that the natives of the Colonies have been relegated to a position of inferiority and that they are no longer Portuguese Citizens as they were under the old Republican Constitution. The writer then proceeds:).

By the new Republican Constitution the Portuguese are invested with the powers of the lord and master of those whom the Republic of the 5th October called brothers.

The Goan repels and will repel affronts like the Colonial Act, seconded and approved by the Constitution of the Republic of the Portuguese, 2nd the Regulations for the recruitment for military service which treat us as subjects by " organic essence ". I am not going to analyse the sections of these insolent diplomas.....I wish simply to express my indignation showing at the same time that Portugal has no moral authority to insult us and consider us as savages.....I deal with the subject only in principle to emphasise that Portugal, supported by the provisions of the Colonial Act, specially, is not in our country as guardian or owner of *natives*, the more so because there are no *natives* in the midst of our society.

(The writer then analyses article 2 of the Colonial Act which he says has reduced the natives of the Colonies, including the sons of Goa, to a Political position inferior to that of the natives of Portugal and cites the names of many illustrious sons of Goa who have actually according to the writer, exercised a civilising influence on the Portuguese in their own country, and then proceeds:).

These are the *natives* or *assimilated* who have educated and still educate the Portuguese. Ungrateful Portuguese of the Dictatorship of ungrateful Portugal. The Portugal which possesses nothing which it can be proud of or which has not its origin in the civilisation of India! Portugal had no place in the map when distant people used to come to India to learn medicine, philosophy, science. Europe was very backward when our civilisation had attained the apogee. It is, therefore, not we that have adopted the civilisation of Portugal but it is the Portuguese who have adopted our civilisation. It is not we who are *natives* to be civilised by the Portuguese, but we are the civilised who have to civilise the 70 p.c. illiterate Portuguese (Here the writer tries to refute some arguments said to have been advanced by Dr. Alves, the late Portuguese Consul General in Bombay, in defence of the Colonial Act. He then tries to prove that

The reference is to the people of Goa.

During which Goa has been under the domination of the Portuguese.

Those who have adopted the European civilisation.

Portugal cares less for her Colony in India than her Colonies in the other parts of the world because she can derive more material benefits from these and exclaims). Are we not the people who have been chosen as slaves to work for the other Colonies of Portugal and for the Metropolis? Is it not the Colonial Act which has aggravated this situation of ours? Have we any right to work for our interest ? No. The Metropolis rules us as serfs of ancient times were ruled. It gives no consideration to our people, who are admired everywhere. It has completely crushed our birthplace which is at present ruined morally and materially. Portugal has reserved for itself complete liberty, to do with country what it likes spurring all our representations. It is the Colonial Act, which gives this right to the Government of Portugal.

(The Writer then comments and discusses several other features of the Colonial Act which according to him lowers and humiliates the sons of Goa in the estimation of the world and concludes):

We are, therefore, administratively, a country possessing excellent conditions of riches on the road to ruination and politically a people possessing brilliant civilisation which is unjustly kept in chains. This is what Portugal has done with our country and our people after we had carried to the Portuguese not only our civilisation but also help to maintain their dominations.

New generation of the illustrious and noble Goa. behold the
Ungrateful Portugal!

(Signed)
Portuguese Translator to Government.

Translation of an article in Portuguese published at page 9 of the " Portuguese India Annual, 1935 "

" Goans and the Indian National Movement " by T. Braganza Cunha

The attitude of Goans towards the struggle of the independence of India reveals on their part the most perfect ignorance of their own interest. Both in Goa and abroad, whether it is through apathy, want of courage, calculation or false comprehension of their true position, our countrymen keep themselves aloof from the great liberating movement which is agitating the whole of India.

Some through indifference, fatalism and spirit of resignation arising from the total ignorance of the ties which bind their own destiny to this movement, others through deliberate ill-will and hostility more or less concealed and emanating from a false comprehension of their own interest and through a slavish ideology of which they are victims, keep themselves nearly all of them prudently away from the emancipating struggle which a vague instinct however makes them to discern as their only salvation There are few of them who have dared to declare themselves in favour of the national struggle for the liberation of the country from the foreign yoke.

Looking through our press both in Goa and in Bombay it is very rarely that we can come across a writing which can be considered as a gesture of

The date on which the Portuguese Republic was proclaimed is 1910.

Those who have adopted the European civilisation.

solidarity with the formidable agitation which concerns us so closely. Our journalists and public men, precisely when they refer to events which are passing around us, think that they should view them in the attitude of imperial observers as if they were dealing with matters relating to a distant country. Even in the matter of great economic problems which are discussed between the British interests and the Indian opposition and which so deeply affect our own economic interests, these gentlemen do not abandon their strong attitude of benevolent neutrality, no doubt actuated by the desire to avoid the least suspicion which might stain their loyalty.

Matters are even worse. Among our thinking heads there are not wanting people who in a wonderful indifference assume airs of the very imperialists in discussing gravely about Indian politics. It would not be an exaggeration to say that a good number of our leaders of public opinion while emitting their opinion on the Indian national struggle think through the head of the "*Times of India*", the organ of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, and live in the blessed persuasion that they imbibe their knowledge in a clear fountain.

No wonder that the Goan opinion, served by such inspirers, ignorant and wanting in courage, remains indecisive and perplexed in the case of a movement on which depends its whole future and which exercises its influence on its present. Not even the vivid example of the sustained battle for the right of self-determination which is being fought around them and of the fighting spirits in the midst of whom many of them are living has succeeded in galvanising the energies of our countrymen and freeing them from the state of resignation and abject submission in which they have become accustomed to live. Their mental slavishness of ages and a long standing denationalisation constitute a powerful obstacle which prevents them from adapting themselves quickly to the new spirit which is dominating the whole of India.

Among the reasons which induce a large number of Goans to refuse their solidarity with the anti-imperialistic movement, the most important is the fact that they consider themselves as allied to the foreign rulers because they are bound to them by tie of one and the same religion. In their profound ingenuity some of our countrymen suppose that the Christian religion to which they belong has conferred on them rights equal to those of the rulers and that the preponderance of the non-Christian element in an independent India may one day deprive them of this supposed privilege. In fact, the flagrant racial distinction which exists in the fold of this religion even in the very ecclesiastical circles should have long ago opened the eyes of the most credulous. The close co-operation which exists between the foreign rulers and their missionaries, although there might sometimes result therefrom some small favours shown to the Indian Christians would be sufficient to show clearly the political complicity of these religious organisations who have as their object the aiding of the imperialist power in the latter's business of subjugating in India the Christians as well as the non-Christians.

But so deeprooted is the conviction of our countrymen that not even the new politics of the British Government, tending to appease the discontented and insubordinate element by sacrificing, if need be, their more loyal subjects, has succeeded in demonstrating before their eyes the Machiavellian motives which determine the tactics of the rulers. Thus, living apart from the national struggle and showing their hostility to it, they not only compromise their future by not having contributed their quota

to the struggle for the emancipation of their country, but they condemn themselves to isolation even in the present transitory phase of the national agitation in India. They are ostracised both by the rulers and the ruled.

Another powerful reason which contributes towards the separation of the Goan from the vigorous pan-Indian ferment is the narrow and wretched ambit in which the local politics in Goa moves. The parochial criterion which presides here for the solution of all our political and economical problems, which we vainly seek to solve by always ignoring the natural ties which bind us to the Indian continent, is the cause of the isolation and the despairing impotence to which we have been reduced. This local politics keeps itself aloof even at the present time from the great problems viewing them at most in the light of curiosity although these repercussions in our daily life are sometimes much more important and affect us more directly than some measures of the Portuguese Government which some times bring us troubles. Any monetary reform initiated by the British Government fixing the value of the rupee brings to us consequences more important than some of our taxes. Also the economic measures affecting the great Indian Industries and their high commerce cause in our internal economics greater repercussions than some of the local customs dues. But in our political life such factors pass unnoticed and attract less attention than the questions regarding confraternities and the salaries of Officials.

The cause of this strange aloofness does not lie merely in ignorance. If our local politics takes no interest in the great problems of general application and of the most vital importance, it is because it involves itself in the interests of a very small minority and little cares for the wellbeing of the masses. The local politics among us has never gone beyond the ambit of the restricted interests of the official class of the so called " rich " landowners and of certain merchants and businessmen.

It is just because the interests of the great masses of our population, which are confounded with the general interests of the country, are ignored and despised by our politicians that the problems affecting the general public totally escape their attention in the same manner as the close relation which exists between these problems and the national politics of India. This is the principal reason why the so called Goan "politics" is of a deepest anti-national character.

It is to the political domination of this small class of officials, landowners and merchants allied to the foreign power, that we owe the decay of our collective life. To their denationalising action we owe the decadence and ruin which manifests itself in all the branches of the activity of the country. It has been this class which in exchange for small privileges and favours granted by the rulers has always applauded and accepted the humiliating politics of assimilation by renouncing the traditions of a superior civilisation. It is this class which collaborates in a ruinous economic politics which separates us from India by an absurd customs barrier thus impeding our national economic progress and even ruining our primitive agricultural industry. It is also in the interest of this class and with their connivance, with a view to their being able to enter the bureaucracy, that a system of public instruction has been introduced here which is entirely useless for the general public, sacrificing as it does the language of the country condemned to illiteracy. It is with this class that the Government shares the profits of the fatal alcoholic industry the intensification of which leads us at rapid paces to the physical and moral degeneration of our

race. It is the active co-operation of this class with the foreign civil and ecclesiastical element that keeps the people in the most complete obscurantism.

It is therefore with the advent of a new element and of a new class in the public that we can expect an orientation more in conformity with our national interest. To widen the political horizon of Goa by integrating us in the great Indian national current it is first necessary to base our action on the great force of the masses by doing away with prestige gathered round a half a dozen persons representing the interests of an insignificant minority. This is a fundamental condition to inaugurate among us a political system based on a modern ideology and on the right of self-determination of the peoples. And such a political system is inconceivable in Goa without the most close union with the great pan-Indian movement.

In fact, the solution of all problems which dominate our collective life depends on a standing agreement with our neighbours and racial brothers. The regaining of our political liberties is intimately connected with the independence of India and it is materially unrealisable without it. Our economic progress demands an intimate understanding with the neighbouring country on which we are dependent in respect of almost everything and of which we form only a small geographical portion. Our social organisation the similarity of which with that of our neighbours is incontestable inspite of all superficial and misleading appearances to the contrary is subject to the influence of the reforms and transformations which operate in the social life of India. Our cultural progress which necessitates a solid foundation in the Indian tradition and which will be brought about through the vernacular having in view a practical application to the necessities of our environments, if it does not wish to be fossilised under the form of ridiculous, mimicking of a culture foreign to the country, is for this very reason inseparable from the general progress of India. So strong and numerable are the ties which bind us to India that the isolation in which our "illustrious" class try to remain in relation to it becomes inconceivable.

More than ever the lamentable situation in which the Goans struggle at the present time demands from them a more natural and national attitude in the face of the Indian National movement if they do not wish to comfort themselves eternally with their wretched condition by engaging in sterile criticism, futile recriminations and vain protests.

(Signed)
Portuguese Translator to Government.

S.R. No. 106 DV
Bombay, 27th March 1935.

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Political and Reforms Department,
Bombay.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 76-DV, Proc. 606, dated the 1st instant, I have the honour to inform you that on the 1st issue of a review published in this city under the title of "The Indo-Portuguese Review" appears translated in English the same article "Goans and (he Indian National

Movement" that was published in Portuguese on the last issue of "*Portuguese India Annual*" of 1935 that, as I informed you in my above letter, is considered offensive and detrimental to the national honour.

I further state that these two reviews "*The Portuguese India Annual*" and "*The Indo-Portuguese Review*" belong to the same person.

Herewith I am enclosing a copy of the referred review.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

(Signed) CARLOS Da MESQUITA,

Consul General for Portugal.

No. 9384-A,

POLITICAL AND REFORMS DEPARTMENT

Bombay Castle, 29th March 1935.

From:

C.W.A. Turner, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E.,
Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Political and Reforms Department.

To

The Consul General for Portugal
at Bombay.

Subject.—Article in the " Indo-Portuguese Review" March 1935

Sir.

I am directed by the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 106-DV, dated the 27th March 1935, complaining against certain article appearing in the "*Indo-Portuguese Review*" March 1935 and to state that it is receiving attention.

I have the honour to be.

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

(Signed) T.B.

for Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay.
Political and Reforms Department.

POLITICAL AND REFORMS DEPARTMENT

The Consul General for Portugal forwards copies of the " Portuguese India Annual" for 1935 and of "The Indo-Portuguese Review", March 1935 and requests that necessary action may be taken against the editor (Mr. Lewis Dores Silva) for the articles published in these magazines under the signatures of T. Braganza Cunha and Carlos da Cruz. The article contributed by Carlos da Cruz criticises the administrative and political affairs in Portuguese India and that contributed by T. Braganza Cunha of which

an English translation has also been published in the " Indo-Portuguese Review" March 1935, exhorts the Goans not to keep themselves aloof from the struggle of independence carried on in British India. The Consul General also requests that action may be taken against Carlos da Cruz for the first article. Braganza Cunha is residing in Goa and therefore no action can be taken against him by us.

2. Similar complaints against editors or writers in different Portuguese Journals were received from the Portuguese Consul General, but it was not possible under the existing law to take any action against the editors or writers of such articles beyond giving them a warning that if they published offensive articles they would run the risk of being deported under the Foreigners' Act. The matter was brought to the notice of the Government of India in 1933 but they did not contemplate taking any action to check such writings against the Foreign Governments in India.

3. The H.D. (Pol) may see these pp. U.O. to see whether any action can be taken against the Editors of the Journals and against Carlos da Cruz for the articles in question. Perhaps as Carlos da Cruz is a Portuguese subject, the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, may be asked to warn him that he is liable to be deported as was done in the case of others last years.

Intd. J.C.B.

U.O.R. to H.D. (Pol) dated 1st April 1935.

Home Department (Political).

The Portuguese Indian Annual for 1935, which is in the third year of its publication is stated to be printed and published by Mr. Lewis Dores Silva. at the Alliance Arts Printing Works, Bombay. Mr. Silva and this printing press have not come to notice before for printing and publishing objectionable matter.

2. As regards the two articles in the Annual against which the Consul General for Portugal has complained as containing defamatory matter detrimental to the national honour to Portugal, no action can be taken in respect of them under the existing law in force in British India in so far as they attack the Portuguese Government or its administration in Portuguese India.

3. The second of the two articles, namely that by Mr. Braganza Cunha. (who resides in Goa), entitled " Goans and the Indian National Movement " has also been reproduced in English in the new Magazine styled " The Indo-Portuguese Review" in the first issue thereof for March 1935. This Magazine has been started as a result of the success achieved by the "Portuguese Indian Annual ", (vide the first para, of Current Topics in the first page of the magazine). The editor and the declared printer and publisher is Mr. Lewis Dores Silva (of the Annual). The magazine is printed at the Turf Printing Works of which apparently a woman, one Ichhabai Ranchhoddas is the declared keeper. This press has not come to notice before.

4. The article " Goans and the Indian National Movement" may be divided into two parts, the first of which (i.e., the first seven paras) refers to the British Government in India, and the second to local politics in Goa. The article, as a whole is a direct appeal to Goans to join the National movement for Indian Independence, because the Goans themselves are pure Indians. The Government in British India is referred to as " foreign " and in paras 6 and 7 it is stated that close agreement exists

between that Government and Christian missionaries which permits the subjugation and exploitation of Christians and Non-Christians in India, and that the British Government's new policy (i.e. the impending reforms), which tends to satisfy the discontented and insubordinate elements at the expense of the loyal subjects, is Machiavellian in its motives.

These passages are likely, directly or indirectly, to bring the Government established by law in British India into hatred or contempt and to come within the scope of clause (d) of Section 4(a) of the I.P. (E.P.) Act, The R.L.A. may be consulted if considered necessary. If not, we may consider the question of conveying a warning. In that case, Political and Reforms Department may be asked to refer the papers to the C. of P. to ascertain whether Mr. Silva is a Portuguese subject. If he is, C. of P. may be asked to call him up, warn him, as printer and publisher of the Annual and as editor and the declared printer and publisher of the Review, against publishing in future matter such as that contained in the two articles against the Government of Portugal and its administration in Portuguese India and against the Government established by law in British India, under threat of deportation. (Warnings of this nature given to other Portuguese subjects had salutary effects).

5. As regards the warning which Political and Reforms Department suggest should be given to Mr. Carlos da Cruz, the writer of the first of the two articles in the Annual, it may be noted that he was the writer of several Portuguese articles in "O Anglo Lusitano" against which the Consul General for Portugal had complained in April 1933. While the editor of that paper was warned, no warning was given to Mr. Da Cruz because he could have denied authorship and there was no evidence to corroborate the Consul General's information that da Cruz was the author : In the present case Mr. Da Cruz's name appears on the article as the writer. C. of P. may, therefore be asked to convey a similar warning to Mr. Da Cruz who, Political and Reforms Department say, is a Portuguese subject.

The Commissioner of Police may be asked to warn Mr. Silva and Mr. Da Cruz as suggested.

U.O.R. No. 528. Polt. 9th April 1935.

P. and R.D.

These papers may be referred u.o. to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, with a request that he will give the warning to the two persons mentioned above that if they persist in writing against the Government of Portuguese India they are liable to be deported as undesirable foreigners.

U.O.R. to the Commissioner of Police,
Bombay. d /11.4.35.

R.W.C.

Both have been duly warned.

D.C.P.S.B.

Sir,

I beg to report that Messrs. Lewis Dores Silva and Carlos da Cruz are both Portuguese subjects. They may be warned in the terms of Political and Reforms Department note dated 11th April 1935.

Kerrawala Mension, 3rd floor.
Carnac Road,
Bombay, 16th May 1935.

To,

The Chief Secretary to Government,
Political Department, Bombay.

Sir,

Be pleased to place before the Governor of Bombay the enclosed Memorial for his consideration.

I beg to remain.

Sir,

Your obedient servant.

(Signed) CARLOS da Cruz,

To

His Excellency,
The Governor of Bombay in Council.
Humble Memorial of Carlos da Cruz
residing at Kerrawala Mansion, 3rd floor,
Carnac Road, Bombay.

Sheweth :

1. Having been lately summoned before the Police Commissioner, at the direct or indirect instance of the Government of Portuguese India, in connection with an article of mine in Portuguese entitled " A plain talk on the Administrative and Political Progress of Portuguese India ", appearing in the " Portuguese India Annual" 1935, I feel I must on behalf both of my fair name and of justice in general, give the Government of this Presidency an " expose " of my views and acts which I hope and pray will be given due consideration by that Government. So shall the charges of insinuations levelled at my person be taken at their proper value and the course of justice be promoted.

2. I am not a rebel seeking to attack the Portuguese Government under the broad aegis of the British flag. For even as a teacher in various Government schools in Goa and Daman, I was ever a journalist criticising such administrative acts as called for criticism and drawing public attention to official or semi-official scandals, in the interest of my country.

3. In consequence of my firm and incorruptible attitude towards questions vitally affecting public welfare and the principles of sound administration, the very same Government that had on several occasions commanded my magisterial services, took advantage of some writings of mine to dismiss me from their service by processes far from straight. without giving me the chance of a full defence and even charging me gratuitously with forging documents in proof of my innocence. I need hardly add that the penalty then applied to me as well as my dismissal from the service, created a great scandal in the press in Goa.

4. Coming to Bombay I assumed the Portuguese Editorship of ' *The Anglo-Lusitano*' , a bilingual weekly published in this city, and in its columns I carried on my criticism of whatever seemed to me harmful to the best interest of my country. It stands to proof that my writings in this paper fall considerably short of the license permitted to political

journalism by the Government of British India and sometimes even far below that license, which I had sometimes used with impunity within the Portuguese territory itself.

5. This activity of mine earned for the journal much hostility, chiefly moved by the Consul-General for Portugal in Bombay, as a result of which I preferred to lay down my charge, rather than compromise the integrity of my opinions. A few months later, however, I resumed the Portuguese editorship of the same journal and with it the same unwavering attitude. "Unwavering" is an ambiguous word liable to be mistaken for obstinacy. I appeal therefore to the columns of the journal during my editorship to prove that not a word was written there without sufficient grounds or even sufficient reference to documents or well known facts. History was to repeat itself ; and the Government of the Portuguese India, impatient of the truth and growing uncomfortable at the enthusiasm and approbation with which the revelation of this truth was received by the public interdicted the journal in Portuguese India. This ban caused a slight flutter in the journal's management and once again I had to sever my connection with "*The Anglo-Luistano*" on the 25th January last,

6. It was some time before this date that I wrote the article "A Plain Talk etc.", for 'The Portuguese India Annual'. This article is, in part but an historical resume and a marshalling of facts quoted, as is open to inspection, with conscientious accuracy from the Government Gazette (Boletin Official da India Portuguese). The Consul General for Portugal himself admitted to me in a personal talk that there was not the slightest offence to truth in that article which would have passed almost unnoticed (or rather with that measure of notice which is accorded to ordinary journalist criticism), had the Goa Press and public enjoyed half the liberty of speech they enjoyed once or is granted by the British laws here in India today. The fact is that in Goa, as in the past of the Portuguese territory, the Censorship allows the publication only of whatever flatters the vanity or furthers the interests of the governing classes and this is the very point of the article in question, which is but a summary of much that I had previously written on the administrative and political progress of Portuguese India. Whereas here in British India, wrong alone pays the due penalty, there in Portuguese India truth itself is suppressed if bitter to the governing classes and falsehood is given a free rein if palatable to the same.

7. At this stage I feel I might as well set forth the motives of this journalistic activity of mine. The powers that administer the destinies of Portuguese India have, for some time past, shown for Goa and Goans a hardly dissembled ill-will, singling them out for quite unashamed oppression, presumably through jealousy of the Goan who has, by right of conquest, held the highest official appointments as well as won laurels in nearly every walk of life wherever he has chanced to be. I am moved not so much by the material aspects of the question as by its moral and political. Yet, even materially Goa is in a sad and shameful plight, being saved only by emigration, chiefly to British India. This has made Goa dependent politically on Portugal, and economically on England. The majority of Goans have, so to say, two flags, and a dual nationality. But if Goa is materially very backward, due mainly to its inefficient administration, politically it is no better. While here in British India the Government is granting an increasingly larger measure of freedom and independence to the natives, in Portuguese India age old rights are being

withdrawn and the people reduced to the level of slaves. Indeed, though it might appear a comic exaggeration, Goans enjoy today better and fuller rights in British India than in their own country. Not content with manufacturing laws calculated to humiliate Goans politically, a vigorous propaganda has been launched against them by semi-official organs, tending to degrade them from the highest and most responsible positions in the bureaucracy. One such journal, known to bask in the patronage of the Minister for the Colonies, has cast the basest and most unfounded aspersions against the Indian character, calling Goans a spiteful and dangerous race. Yet it is universally known that not only have Goans fulfilled everywhere with honesty and competence the highest official roles, but in numerous ways contributed to the culture and advancement of Portugal.

8. The Goans' honesty, intelligence and love of order need not be impressed by me upon the Government of Bombay, which has had ample evidence of them for nearly a century. Yet this semi-official journal, patronised by the Colonial Minister, has dared to suggest in no equivocal terms that Goans ought to be treated with kicks, lathis, etc., as (it adds) the British Indian natives are treated by the Government of India ; that Goans ought to be regarded as slaves and beasts of burden as (the semiofficial organ supposes) the Government of India regards its subjects. Such is their opinion of the British administration in India and such is the campaign carried out in Portugal against Goans under the shelter of the Press Censorship.

9. It is against this revolting and reactionary policy that my criticism has been directed. It is against the inefficient management of the public finance that my voice has been raised. It is against the deliberate idea of trampling upon the time-honoured political rights of Portuguese India that my feeble pen has been used. It is in short against the abuses of the public administration that my war has. been waged. Can it be a crime to bring before the bar of public opinion the abuses of an administration ? If it is, why is this " crime " permitted in British India?

10. This statement is not a challenge. It is a humble exposition of my past activity and of my present position. This position would be very awkward. I know if I continued to be exposed to arrows flying in the dark. But I hope and pray that the Government of Bombay will accept this my statement, subjecting it to thorough investigation, if necessary and not judge me unheard.

Bombay,

17th May 1935.

(Signed) CARLOS DA CRUZ.

POLITICAL AND REFORMS DEPARTMENT.

This is a Memorial from Mr. Carlos da Cruz who was recently warned by the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, that if he persisted in writing articles against the Government of Portuguese India he would be liable to be deported as an undesirable foreigner. This warning was necessitated on account of his recent article in " The Portuguese India Annual, 1935 ", criticising the administration and political affairs in Portuguese India. Attention in this connection is invited to the G. L. to the Consul General for Portugal at Bombay, No. 9384-II-A, dated the 1st May 1935, and the notes underlying it.

2. Mr. Da Cruz has not made any specific request in the memorial. He however, has given a detailed account of his past activities and of his present position by way of justifying his writings against the Portuguese Government and he desires that his statement should be thoroughly investigated, if necessary, and that he should not be judged unheard. No action appears to be necessary on the memorial which may simply be acknowledged.

H. D. (Poll) and the C. of P., Bombay may however see these papers before they are filed.

(Signed)

U. O. R. to H. D. (Poll) and C. of P., Bombay, dated 22nd May 1935.

U. O. R. to C. of P. No. 781-Poll, dated 27th May 1935.

Seen and returned with compliments.

U. O. R. No. 2784/V 205, dated 15th June 1935 to the Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Political and Reforms Department. Bombay.

GOA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

(File o. 3036/38 I.)

The Free Press Journal, dated 22nd October 1938

Organising Goans Under Congress Banner

Goa Congress Committee Formed.

The Secretary of the Goa Congress Committee writes:—

On the 12th of this month a deputation on behalf of the Provisional Goa Congress Committee waited on Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose. In accordance with his advice and suggestions we have taken up the work of organising the Goans in Bombay under the banner of the Congress and the newly formed Goa Congress Committee has opened its office on 2nd floor. 21 Dalal Street, Fort Bombay.

All those who wish to join the Goa Congress Committee can Kindly communicate to Mr. F. X. Gracias, Secretary.

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 22nd October 1938

Goa Congress Committee

A meeting of the members of the Provisional Goa Congress Committee was held a few days ago when it was decided to dissolve the Provisional Goa Congress Committee and a new Committee called the Goa Congress Committee was formed.

The Committee proposes to work on the lines chalked out by Mr. Subhas-Chandra Bose, the President of the Indian National Congress, when he received a deputation of the Goans.

The following members were elected to the Committee : Tristao Braganza de Cunha, President; F. X. Gracias, Secretary; A. Vicgas. P. Rodrigues, K. D'Souza, D. B. Divakar, M. J. Jayawant, Chandrakant Kakodkar and K. S. Pradhan, members.

The Committee has appealed for support in their fight for freedom and democracy.

All those desirous of joining the Committee should write to the Secretary, Goa Congress Committee, 21, Dalai Street, Fort Bombay.

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 10th December 1938

Join the Congress

Goa Congress Committee's Clarion Call

Mr. F. X. Gracias, Secretary of Goa Congress Committee writes :

By now, I am sure, you are quite aware of the formation of the Goa Congress Committee, a political national organization which has sprung up. as a long-felt necessity. It is an organ of the peoples' revolt against unheeded of exploitation let loose in Goa by the present Fascist Government.

It would be gross selfishness on our part to isolate ourselves from this national political institution. It is our duty to support it in every possible way to carry out its policy to a logical conclusion. The supreme need of India today is her freedom, and whoever contributes his quota to achieve that freedom performs his bounden duty as an Indian.

"I am confident that this clarion call will find a noble echo in responsive hearts of all Goans. Those who wish to join, kindly communicate with the Secretary, Goa Congress Committee, Fort, Bombay.

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 3rd December 1938

Sensational Political Arrest of a British Indian

Goa Police's Charge Against School Master.

From a special correspondent according to the latest news received here the Goa police have arrested and detained in the Margao police lockup Mr. Bhat, a British Indian subject who earned his living by giving tuitions.

So far as could be ascertained the charge against him is that he entered into correspondence with Mr. Pradhan of the Bombay branch of the Goa Congress Committee and that he is believed to have been engaged in " communist " activities.

THE JUDICIAL VERDICT

It may be recalled in this connection that Mr. Pradhan himself, who was a teacher in the Asolna English School, was similarly arrested, detained and subsequently released. The 'Club Juvenil ', a sporting organisation attached to the school was also suppressed and continues to remain so in spite of the fact that the Judge of Quepem Division who went through the evidence found nothing substantial against the members of the Club and accordingly the case was dropped.

It is interesting in this connexion to note that there is a British Consul in Goa who is responsible for safeguarding the legitimate interests of {British Indian subjects. The case of Mr. Bhat has naturally created an affiout of general interest in all cricles.

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 17th January 1939

Goans most Vote for Congress candidates

Mr. F. X. Gracias, of the Goa Congress Committee has issued an appeal to all Goans in Bombay to vote for the Congress candidates in the forthcoming Municipal Elections.

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 10th February 1939

Goa Congress Committee

The Secretary of the Goa Congress Committee, Bombay, writes :

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Goa Congress Committee, satisfaction was expressed at the hearty response made by Goans from all over India to the appeal of the Committee for general enrolment of membership.

Since its formation the Goa Congress Committee has been very busy enrolling members and its undaunted efforts will in no way relax in building up a powerful political organisation capable of rousing every Goan to political consciousness and achieving freedom.

Goans, like other Indians, have happily realised that the good of the people is incompatible with foreign domination and that no progress is at present possible either economically or culturally without political freedom.

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 10th February 1939

National Movement in Goa

Congress Committee's Appeal.

The Secretary, Goa Congress Committee, Bombay, writes :

Life and conditions in Goa are worse than in any of the most backward feudal States in India. Nature has blessed Goa with a salubrious climate and ample natural resources to enable its inhabitants to lead a happy and prosperous life. But man-made laws and institutions have reduced the honest and hardworking people of Goa to abject poverty. Without trade and industry worth the name, without the elementary human rights of citizenship with an expensive, top-heavy militarist, feudal administration, with archaic social institutions and with ignorance and superstition reigning all over the land the large majority of the people of Goa are in this 20th century, leading a life, a little better than that of mediaeval serfs.

In recent years owing to economic causes and a reaction to what is happening in India, a consciousness of their human rights is growing amongst the Goans and a demand for popular government and better economic conditions is being voiced. Scenting danger in this awakening of the people and in their desire for political freedom and economic betterment the Government in Goa, aided by all the reactionary elements in the territory, are seeking to crush them. But repression cannot kill a people's movement, though in order to succeed it is necessary to organize the movement properly and to link it up with the wider national movement of the Indian people.

The Goans, as a class, have so far held themselves aloof from the national movement developing under the banner of the Congress. This has led to their isolation from the Indian people and has facilitated their repression by the authorities in Goa. It is high time that this indifference and isolation are ended and an active link is forged between the civic aspirations of the Goans and the Congress movement in the country. A large number of Goans are residing in Bombay and constitute an advanced section of the people of Goa. It is proper, therefore, that the first effort in this direction should be made in Bombay.

In view of these considerations the Goa Congress Committee has been formed at 21st Dalal Street, Fort, Bombay with the aims and objects. It is confidently expected that the Goans in Bombay will join the Committee in large numbers and enable it to open a new chapter in the struggle of the people of Goa for political liberation and social emancipation.

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 14th March 1939

Goa Congress call to Goans

"Join Congress and fight for your birth rights"

The Secretary of the Goa Congress has issued the following appeal to all Goans : —

This is the age of nationalism and it is highly gratifying to note that our people have also begun to think in terms of nationalism. The determination of the people of Goa to be the sole masters of their land, is a welcome indication of the changed times.

Friends, we appeal to you, to join the Goa Congress which is planning a peaceful and legitimate struggle for our inalienable rights and privileges. Freedom is our birth right and in claiming it we have God Himself on our side. Those wishing to join the Congress are requested to communicate with the Secretary, The Goa Congress, Bombay Mutual Building.

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 11th April 1939.

Bombay Branch of Goa Congress Committee

A decision to organise a united association known as Goa Congress Committee (Bombay Branch) was taken at a meeting- of the Goan Nationalists residing in Bombay.

This Committee will function in Bombay as a branch of the Goa Congress Committee founded in Goa in 1928 and recognised by the Indian National Congress under article III (F) of the Constitution in the open session, held at Calcutta in 1928.

The immediate object of the new united national organisation of Goans, which will work in conjunction with its parent-body, is to agitate for responsible government in Goa, Damaun and Diu, and for the restoration of civil liberties in these territories.

According to the wishes of the President of the Indian National Congress, a complete and well-documented survey of the real economic, social, political and administrative conditions in Portuguese India will be shortly published under the auspices of the Goa Congress Committee.

Mr. Ignatius Fonseca, Editor, "O Anglo-Lusitano " will be President of Bombay Branch of the Committee.

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 20th April 1939

Goa Congress Committee.

A Correspondent writes : —

Apropos the inquiry about the Goa Congress Committee published in your journal on 27th instant will you permit me to point out that the Indian National Congress had maintained a Goa Branch for several years and that it had been in charge of Mr. Tristan da Braganza Cunha of Cansaulim who is also president of the recently established Goa Committee.

Mr. Braganza Cunha possesses a brilliant record of service to the cause of Indian nationalism and first came to public notice in Paris when he published the life of Mahatma Gandhi before Romain Rolland wrote his. He has written on India in, amongst other papers, *L'Europe Nouvelle* and *Charte* and has collaborated with the late Henri Barbusse who with his well-known gallantry had lent the influence of his name and pen to the neglected cause of Indian freedom in Europe.

On his return home, Mr Braganza Cunha has throughout with a courage and consistency that I have found rare in Goa, devoted himself to the cause: not merely of the Indian freedom but also that of the downtrodden Goan masses. He has worked under the most difficult conditions and apathy, and fear bred through centuries of foreign rule in awakening the national and cultural consciousness amongst all classes of people. The propagation, of swadeshrism and temperance formed the most important feature of his activities as a writer and publicist ; and the writings he has published reveal his exceptionally accurate understanding of the Goan political, economic and cultural problems.

Although the military dictatorship and the suppression of civil liberties including those of the press that inevitably followed made any work impossible, he has not been prevented from continuing his activities. He has faced a number of police prosecutions, imprisonment and has been indicated by the highest judicial tribunal. Those who know Goan conditions can appreciate what amount of self-sacrifice the work of the character involves.

Nor has it been wasted. Mr. Braganza Cunha represents the fine type of the educated and cultured Goan Indian and his work has achieved the crystallisation of a formidable consciousness and politico-cultural unity with the freedom movement in India although evidence of its free expression is rendered difficult if not impossible under the conditions of press censorship and suppression of ordinary, elementary freedom of association and expression. We respect and hold in affection this Goan intellectual not indeed for himself but as a representative and voice of the real Goan living and struggling under 400 years of foreign domination and the most humiliating slavery, intellectual as well as political and economic.

I do not know of any move of civil disobedience in Goa advocated by the nationalist leadership. Such a course of action could be advised only by those who have no proper understanding of Goan conditions. I may add that men like Mr. Hegde, Desai of the paper, *Bharat*, are reported to have joined the fascist organisation ' Uniao Nacional' (National Union) and I would solemnly warn your readers against swallowing the propaganda; that is released by them as they have evidently chosen to grow a new complexion and cease automatically to speak in the name of the people of Goa.

PROHIBITION APPEAL TO GOANS.

Friends,

It has always been the burning wish of every Indian patriot, who has realised with bitterness what ravages alcoholism has worked on the teeming million of India, to remove this scourge and as a result restore our country to its pristine greatness and loveliness. So long as we were powerless to enforce this wish, it only remained a wish, but with the happy advent of the government of the people and by the people the wish has already taken flesh in

several places and Bombay now, the premier city in the east is soon going to be dry and beautiful. You have no doubt realised the inestimable benefits that will accrue from this measure to a great majority of the people who liquidate a substantial part of their slender earnings on alcohol at the cost of the necessities of life both to themselves and their dependents. Most of these poor people hardly have a will of their own and the Government, therefore, which is of the people and for the people must perforce come to their rescue and exercise a restraint on their individual liberty which unfortunately when left to itself brings misery, starvation and degradation to its owners. Consequently in the enforcement of a measure which leaves absolutely no alternative but to restrict the individual liberty of India's teeming millions, the consideration of a small minority who can either afford to drink or drink without fault, cannot but be obviously swallowed up with the thought of the good of a whole country or people. This restriction of individual liberty in the case of a minority might have called for serious consideration, however, if it affected something that was indispensable to man as such. Liquor, as has been proved by most medical men and scientists, is only injurious to the system. Hence the plea of restriction of individual liberty will not connect itself with prohibition.

As certain number of people who have been serving in the liquor trade will be affected and among these are our Goan barmen and waiters. But this incidental to prohibition is no exception as such incidentals are not foreign to many a good and sweeping measure all the world over. Surely, the plight of those concerned calls for sympathy in view of the tremendous sacrifice demanded from them for the good of the nation. It is really a very great sacrifice and those who stand equal to it will be doing an inestimable service to their country.

But opposition to the Government is useless in view of its iron resolve to enforce prohibition from August. The degree of the strength of this resolve is commensurate with the Government's overwhelming conviction of the ineffable good it will mean to our country. And yet a section of the Parsi community, with the backing of vested interests it is believed, is futilely trying to oppose the Government. Recently the press has been giving the people to understand that this same section is trying to exploit the discontented element in the Goan Community so as to reinforce the opposition to Prohibition and wreck it as far as possible. We would remind all Goan countrymen, who might otherwise be victimised by this irresponsible exploitation, that Goans unlike the Parsis, are foreigners and that the contemplated Foreigners Act, 1939 puts us Goans as much in the category of foreigners as the Germans or Italians. Any opposition that some of us therefore might raise against the Government will be treated in the light of our being foreigners and as people therefore who have absolutely no rights in Bombay. Besides do you think we can afford to bring on us the concern and ridicule which the Parsis have brought upon themselves by helplessly attacking the Bombay Government for a measure which is devoted to the good of the whole country and is being enforced in all the provinces.

The reasons why we should realise the delicacy and complexity of our position are obvious. Goa is economically dependent on the emigrants. A country whose exports are only Rs. 24,41,390 as against the imports of Rs. 1,32,78,972 thus making a trade deficit of Rs. 1,08, 37,582 would have gone bankrupt and died of starvation long ago, were it not for the Goan emigrants who remit to Goa annually over a 100 lakhs of rupees and thus make up this outrageous balance in trade. You will hence understand why

the Portuguese Government value emigration and why it has instituted the mock-fund (Goan Emigrants Fund) of Rs. 70,000 to make you feel that it has your interests at heart. If the Goans had not sent the money they send annually to Goa, the Portuguese would have long since quitted the land of our fathers as a hopelessly losing proposition.

In view of this, therefore, we must be well advised of what we do. Owing to the accident of history we are being stigmatised as foreigners in our own land. India is one and indivisible and we are ethnically one with our countrymen in the greater India.

There is, however, a very great reason why Goans in particular should welcome prohibition. This does not perhaps apply so much to our Hindu brethren as our Christians, who are a sort of westernised in their ways, and whether they can afford it or not, spend a good portion of their earning on drinks for Christmas. Easter, wedding and Christening ceremonies, birthdays, funerals and even on occasional visits of friends and relatives.

The drink evil in Goa, as you are aware, is a veritable curse as the Government patronises the sale of liquor from which it derives 8 lakhs of rupee revenue. It has hardly any other sources of revenue, the revenue on liquor being the second biggest among its receipts, and hence the reason why Goa is the most intoxicated country in the world. The average consumption is 5 litres per head which is 2 litres more than France. This sounds shocking and incredible but it is true and the Portuguese Government has been so very much ashamed of it that it has eliminated the statistics of the alcohol industry from the last edition of the Statistical Year Book. The tragedy of it is that even women and little boys drink, and the "litanies" as the Goan Christians are well aware are occasions for drink, which still continue in spite of the pastorals of the Patriarch. Such is the terrible condition of drink in Goa, that it is a devout wish of many a Goan patriot that prohibition were enforced in Goa too. But this cannot be done so long as a foreign Government, which sees nothing but its own interests even at the cost of our degradation, rules Goa. Year after year emigration is on the increase and people were finding it harder and harder to live in our own land, which both God and nature have endowed with riches. Goa is our land and we have our inalienable claims to it and rights over it. The sooner we realise this the better it is for us politically and economically. We have the national awakening all the world over as an open index to us. We have examples of patriots who can rise to win back the land of their fathers and their birth.

Issued By :The Goa Congress Committee (Bombay Branch).

Confidential

No. I/FOI/25

Office of the Deputy Inspector of Police, C. I. D.
Province of Bombay, Post Box No. 46.

Poona 5th March 1940.

My dear Trivedi.

I attach for your information a copy of a leaflet in Marathi which was found in circulation at Poona, entitled "Problem of Rice in Goa" issued by the Goa Congress Committee, Bombay.

Yours sincerely.

(Signed)

Rao Bahadur N. V. Trivedi, B. A. I. O.
Deputy Commissioner of Police, S. B.
Bombay.

Sir,

With reference to the attached letter from the Poona I. B. re : a pamphlet issued by the Goa Congress Committee, I beg to report it has been printed and published in Bombay. It, however, did not come to our notice here.

I have gone through the same and find that it is a statement issued by the Goa Congress Committee appealing to the natives of Goa to avoid sending monies to their relations in Goa territory, to lessen their expenses in Goa towards decreasing the indirect payment to Goa Government in the form of Customs duty, to bring about voluntary prohibition as the sale of liquor in Goa territory furnishes a revenue of Rs. 9 lacs to Goa Government, to avoid resorting to Goa Courts for any purpose, not to be misguided by the so-called social workers in Goa who are the satellites of Goa Government and to become members of the Goa Congress Committee. The statement in brief reviews the position in Goa territory of the agriculturists and points out they are overburdened with taxes and Customs duty, etc.

The Goa Congress Committee is recognised by the Indian National Congress since 1928. The Bombay Branch has its office at Room No. 16-B. Block ' G ', Ambewadi, Girgaum.

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 28th January 1940

Goans Join Rally

Bombay Friday.

A feature of this year's Independence Day celebrations in the city was the prominent part taken by the Goans of Bombay who are Portuguese subjects. Earlier in the day the office of the Goa Congress Committee at Ambewadi was a hive of activity and a meeting was held in the morning when Sjt. Thomas Continho, Secretary of the G.C.C. read out the Independence Pledge to a large gathering of both Hindu and Christian members of the Goan community.

The pledge was read out in English, Portuguese, Marathi and ' Concanim ' and solemnly repeated by everyone present.

Sjts. V. A. Karapurkar, President of the Goa Congress Committee, J. P. Lobo, Advocate, G. G. Palekar and V. N. Mayenkar addressed the meeting and explained the significance of the observance. In the evening they participated in the B. P. C. C. procession.

THE RICE PROBLEM IN GOA.

An analysis of the extortionist policy of Government by the Goa Congress Committee.

Consternation and despair prevails among the cultivators of Goa at the exorbitant enhancement of the rents of Comunidade (village community) paddy fields. This is a fresh burden that, at this critical time the government has imposed under a new legislation, which was ostensibly brought into existence in the interest of the people.

This prohibitive rent does not only affect the working classes who actually " till the soil but a large number of middle class landless families who lease

these fields and cultivate them with the help of hired labour. Many of these families have their bread winner abroad, where he ekes out a precarious existence and probably just saves enough—to provide for the expenses and rent of the paddy-field of the village community that is to provide enough home-grown rice for the family.

The outrageous increase of rent spells a disaster to all classes of Goans except a few landlords, the big share-holders of the village community and the government which derives a large revenue from this source. Our rulers do not feel the least compunction at the almost famine conditions that prevail among our people ; their only objective is revenue, more and more revenue for the State.

This scandalous enhancement of rents is but another instance of the failure of the government to solve our rice problem. It is another proof of the patent fact that this problem is primarily the creation of the financial policy persistently fostered by our rulers for the sake of their own revenue and at the expense of the high cost of the staple food of the Goan people.

In its booklet " Portuguese India", the Goa Congress Committee had forecast this enhancement of rents when it pointed out the contradiction of "keeping high the price of rice while aiming at lowering the rent, when it is only well-known that the high price of the agrfcultural produce is the cause of the high rent. "

As a matter of fact, the official experts who fixed the high rent took the high price of rice as basis for the assessment of the new rent according to principles established by the new law. They went further than the author of the law: they deliberately sabotaged the avowed purpose of the few good measures which were ostensibly taken in the interest of the small cultivator.

This explains why the elimination of the village community middleman (alcista) does not benefit the cultivator but only serves to raise the dividends of its shareholders and to increase to a great extent the government land-tax. For, the new rents have been automatically increased by an amount equal if not superior to the alca which the middle-man was collecting for himself from the cultivator. Thus, the rent which the cultivator must now pay directly to the village community will be the same. if not more than that he had to pay under the previous system to the middle-man. The only difference with the past is that the amount of the alca will now go to increase the dividends of the share holders and the land-tax of the government, instead of going into the pockets of the alcistas.

While in theory the avowed aim of the new law was to " protect the cultivators and bring about an increase in production and the prosperity of the people", as boasted in official booklets published in Konkani, in practice the government itself determined that the rents should not be lowered. It is clearly established in sec. 3 n° 2 that in no case the total income of any village community should be inferior to the total rent obtained by the last auction." The government did this in its own interest, in order to increase the land-tax. For, it even ordered a copy of the revised rent-roll to be sent to the Revenue Department even before the amount of the rent was settled with the cultivators "in order to serve as a basis for the revision of the corresponding land-tax" (sec. 3 n° 6). And the rent fixed in this arbitrary manner was to be accepted by cultivators without any possibility of reduction.

The result is that the meagre advantage of the right of preference accorded to the cultivator over the plot of land he is to cultivate has to be secured by him at a very high price. It is so high that fields would have been left uncultivated but for the fear of shortage of rice due to the war crisis, which compelled the cultivators to take them at any price.

But when the time for paying the rent comes and they find themselves unable to realise the amount, they will have to face the fines convertible into imprisonment of a day for every 8 annas of default. The poor cultivators will have no other choice but debt or prison. Not a few of them will have very likely to prefer prison. That only can open the eyes of the government and lead to a reform of the law.

Thus, once more the failure of a new method pursued by the government to solve the rice problem is already evident. According to its own words. " the condition under which the small cultivator has access to lands, the interference of the middle-man being inevitable, is what renders the cost of production excessively high. " But, to the utter disappointment of the Goan cultivator the rents continue to be high even after the elimination of the middle-man and, in some villages, the cultivators will have to pay more than they did to this middle-man. This means that at the cost of poor cultivators the **Comunidades** will distribute higher dividends, give more money to churches and religious festivities and pay higher taxes to the government. This is the only change introduced by the new reform.

If the government is unable to solve this problem it is because the rice crisis is of its own creation. As the Goa Congress Committee has already pointed out, this crisis is mainly due to the ruinous policy pursued by the Government in order to draw in an incredible amount of revenue. It is this tariff customs policy which has increased the cost of living in Goa and consequently the cost of production of rice. We are unable to produce rice in our country at the same cost of cultivation of the neighbouring country because the wages of labour, the cost of ploughing, the transport, seed etc., are more expensive on account of the high cost of living produced by the high customs duties imposed by the government on the most important commodities.

Instead of trying to lower the cost of production of rice, the government added a new burden by its so-called protective policy. Under the pretext of protecting and increasing the local production of rice, the government further raised the price of the imported rice in order to assure a higher price to local producers. But in actual practice the high price of imported rice only succeeded in rendering even more costly the local rice production since the expenses of farming, such as labourer's wages, the cost of seed, etc.. have again shot up with the rise of the price of rice which, being the basic food of the people and the most important article of general use reflects more than anything else on the general cost of living.

Nor does this high price benefit the cultivator, as the rice cultivated in Goa is done by each cultivator in such small and fragmentary plots that the quantity produced hardly suffices for his own domestic consumption, thus precluding the possibility of its being sold at all. As a matter of fact, the high cost of cultivation crushes the peasant and rains agriculture.

Under the oft-repeated pretext of protection the government collected within seven years, since its beginning, from 1931 to 1937, a super-tax on imported rice amounting to Rs. 18,30,837 in addition to the ordinary

customs duty which amounts to Rs. 12,41,119. The income annually derived since the super-tax was started is given below : —

Year	Super Tax in Rs.	Ordinary Tax in Rs.
1931	71,181	1,77,460
1932	4,03,286	1,93,030
1933	4,88,779	2,34,704
1934	5,87,684	1,84,644
1935	68,950	2,10,000
1936	1,05,519	1,16,800
1937	1,05,438	1,24,561
For seven years	18,30,837	12,41,199
Total : Rs.	30,72,036	

Besides this enormous amount of 30 lakhs of rupees, we have to take into account the unreasonable profits allowed to the merchants under the system of permits. In consequence of these huge duties and profits, rice which constitutes almost the exclusive food of the Goan people and has to be imported in great quantities from British India where it is available at Rs. 6 per bag, costs in Goa Rs. 13 per bag and even Rs. 16 due to the profiteering of merchants.

Of these 30 lakhs of rupees collected under the pretext of protection to the local rice, not a pie has been used for the improvement of cultivation, increasing production or even reducing the cost of cultivation. On the contrary, this high imposition has only contributed, as we have already shown to render even more costly the local rice production.

The government sought to lower the rent of paddy-fields and at the same time to maintain high the price of rice when it is well known that the high rent is the result of the high price. The real reason for this contradictory policy is that the government does not wish to renounce a system which means for it a sure source of revenue every year. Unwilling to surrender this precious and easy income, it tries to throw dust in the eyes of the public by putting all the blame on the land-owners, the middlemen in the village community and even the cultivators, against whom are now aimed the new laws and its infamous penalties of fines and imprisonments treating the whole agricultural population as a gang of thieves worthy of the only penalty which is jail.

In Nagar-Haveli, the Portuguese State is the sole owner of vast and fertile lands capable of producing large quantities of rice which could have made up the rice deficit in Portuguese India ; but so exorbitant is the rent exacted even today on the estimate of the high prices of rice obtained twenty years back that the farmer population has preferred to emigrate **en masse** to the neighbouring Indian State, deserting this rich land which is left uncultivated. A fine example indeed of the way our government gives to our peasants free access to lands, protects the cultivators and brings about a rise in production and prosperity to the people.

The most important economic fact in Goa is that the high customs duties imposed on goods of primary necessity under cover of protection have raised the cost of living to the point of affecting the general cost of local production both of agricultural and industrial articles, decreasing the

country's productivity and impoverishing its people. The result is that the population thus deprived of means of living is forced to leave the country and at the same time the country has to import more and more goods which it is unable to produce at competitive cost and to export less and less. Both the mass emigration and the trade deficit are to a great extent a consequence of the government customs policy.

It is a well-known fact that our country is growing economically deficient since the value of its imports is several times superior to the value of its exports. In 1937, the latest year of which trade statistics are available, the value of imports was Rs. 1,41,87,413 as against that of exports of only Rs. 28,83,763, the deficit in the trade being registered at Rs. 1,13,03,650. This huge deficit of 113 lakhs of rupees per year is mostly balanced by the savings sent or brought to Goa by its emigrants since we have no other source of external income excepting the lotteries. It is this hard-earned money that serves to balance the total value of imports which is over five times the value of exports.

Therefore, it is the emigrants' money that goes to pay for all new burdens resulting from the government's rice policy such as the high price of the imported rice, the enhanced rent of paddy-fields and consequently the increased dividends of the village community shares, the building of churches and the religious festivities to which the village communities contribute and the growing government land-tax.

The price of rice in Goa being more than twice as much as it is in British India, it follows that half of the money paid by the consumers for the imported rice goes to the Government coffers through the customs duties. By the same process, the emigrants' savings being spent in a country where the cost of living is double that of the country where they earn their living the emigrants are defrauded by the Goa government of half of their remittances. The burden of the high cost of living in Goa resulting from the levy of high customs duties on most essential goods is borne by the Goan emigrants.

Therefore, the emigrants burden being the highest is up to them to resist the ruinous financial policy of the Portuguese government. The government finances being absolutely dependent on their remittances, it is their duty to prevent this selfish exploitation. That is why the Goa Congress Committee appeals especially to the emigrants to use their power and move in this direction, acting in the following manner :

(1)Reduce to an absolutely necessary minimum their remittances to Goa, which as we have shown, automatically depreciate there at least by half their value ; and try as much as possible to invest their money in the country where it is earned.

(2)See that as far as possible their remittances are not spent on goods subject to high duties which serve to fill the State treasury.

(3)Exercise their influence on the members of their families not to rent the village community, fields at the high prices fixed by the government.

(4)Prevent their savings from being spent on alcoholic drinks which are the Government's greatest source of income, that of customs excepting bringing in a revenue of nine lakhs of rupees per year and being responsible for the physical and moral deterioration of our people.

(5) Avoid as far as possible having recourse to government public services either administrative or judicial which only help to swell the income of the government especially through the stamp duty which amounts nearly to seven lakhs of rupees per year.

(6) Beware of the pernicious influence of the government's agents who under cloak of social work, guidance, assistance and charity are preaching resignation and thus helping the government in its exploitation of our people in Goa as well as in British India.

(7) Join and strengthen our Congress Organization which is the only Goan political body aiming at the defence of our birthright and at India's unity with the help of its most powerful institution, and seeks to do away with the customs barrier that separates Goa from the great India. This is the only way of lowering the cost of living in Goa and reducing the cost of agricultural and industrial production including that of rice.

SECRET.

INTELLIGENCE BUREAU (HOME DEPARTMENT)

Government of India,

Simla, dated the 20th June, 1940.

My dear U'ren,

You may be interested to see the attached copy of a letter on Goan politics addressed to T. Braganza Cunha, Salcete Goa by J. Dores Silva, Fateh Mansion, Mazgaon, Bombay.

Yours Sincerely,

(Signed)

C.W.E. U'ren, Esquire, I.P.,

Deputy Commissioner of Police, S.B., Bombay.

Bombay, 12th May 1940.

My Dear Braganza Cunha,

Pardon my long silence. As you may be aware takes me so often away from Bombay for days together ; and add to this the many irons I have in the fire. Some get cold. But I believe I have been doing some useful work in recent times. You are right in assuming that the community, inspite of its unorganised condition, is splitting into pro and anti Congress tendencies. But that is desirable, and even a healthy symptom. Nationalism is growing. But there is no such thing as anti-nationalism : our trouble is national unconsciousness. The opposition to nationalism is confined to a small group led by C. F. who is naturally still hoping to make a bid for power after his dismissal from the management of the Fund. But he must be liquidated. That is the reason why I am trying to instal Fonseca as president of the G. U., a very difficult task. You are probably not aware that it was definitely decided by the clique in possesion of the Goan Union to nominate C. F. as president of the Union. Fortunately I got to know about the move in time and with sheer tactics. and with the assistance of a few friends defeated the plot. But the whole matter of the election is still hanging fire. The rival list for which I stood

was elected at the first meeting but the party in power with Altino Colaco in the chair demanded a poll which was irregular. At the adjourned general meeting we were again successful in resisting illegalities. It seems to me that eventually the matter will be decided in a court of law. I cannot give you details in a letter like this : very likely you have received cuttings of the proceedings. I understand Fonseca will go to Goa in a few days and you might meet him.

I do not know if you are informed about the correspondence that appeared in the *Examiner*. It was a fanatical attack on the G.C.C., which I am glad, received a great deal of publicity and has now become much better known than it has ever been before. The argument against the Goa Congress was that it was originally started by an apostle that is you! The correspondence in the *Examiner* was mostly anonymous (though at least one priest was supporting). I believe the attack, much of it unreasonable as fanatical attacks always are, was from Correia Alfonso. But the sum total of the discussion was definitely calculated in putting the G.C.C. on the map. That was after all a splash in the pan- Personally I feel disappointed in the activities of the G.C.C. Very little real and constructive work is being done ; and I am afraid the finances are again bad.

I appreciate the interest you take in all these matters and but for you the lights would be out. But I suppose work of this kind must develop gradually. The psychological effect is, however, great and the work must continue. The world is moving so rapidly and even Goa cannot resist the cataclysmic onslaught of the forces at work. If nothing else can be done here or there, we must at least see that enemies of the people are shown up. The present Committee of the Institute Indo Portuguese is more or less invertebrate ; I do not suppose they are likely to carry on propaganda for their patrons. So it will be purely social work, pure and simple. Nobody need object to that. But the influence of the old gang is still there and must be broken.

The G.T. has in its English section been publishing a series of articles on the acts of omission and commission of the old Emigrants' Fund Committee. It strikes me that it would be a good thing if the echo of it was heard in the Goa press. I am glad you are anxious to receive cuttings. I am sending you some immediately. There has been a terrible mismanagement but much of it is difficult to expose due to the manner in which things have been done. Information received from reliable sources, from men connected with the Fund, cannot be substantiated ; but if we only keep to reports etc., it still makes a good " copy". Could you make a series of articles in some good banner ? In fact I should like you to send some important facts to most papers. The series I refer to still continues, and will do so for a couple of weeks more, but the cuttings I am sending you ought to keep you busy for some time.

I have to hand the last issue of the A. L. in which the new policy of S. is discussed. I will follow your instructions and do what I can in the matter.

With all good wishes,

Yours V. Sincerely,

(Signed) **J. DORES SILVA,**

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 19th August 1940

Membership of Goa Congress

The Lt. Hon. Secy. Goa Congress Committee, Bombay Branch writes :—

The attention of Goans residing in Bombay is drawn to the fact that enrolment of membership of Goa Congress Committee has been started and any person can enrol himself as a member between 6-45 p.m. and 7-30 p.m. on any week day.

As a member of this Executive is an enrolment officer of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee facilities are available to the public for enrolment as members of the Indian National Congress in the office of the Goa Congress Committee, Ambevadi, Girgaon, Bombay.

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 29th August 1940

Goa Congress Committee

Apropos' the announcement from the Joint Honorary Secretary, Goa Congress Committee, Bombay Branch published in your paper on the 19th inst may I draw your attention to the fact that the Indian National Congress closed down years ago the Goa Branch it once maintained ? The Indian National Congress had since resolved officially not to maintain any Congress Committees either in the Indian States or the adjacent territory like Portuguese India and if any Congress Committee functions within the jurisdiction of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, its credentials must be examined.

From the correspondence published in the Roman Catholic official paper " Examiner", it appears that Father Raymond, a prominent Catholic Actionist, first supported this Committee. It also appears from the statements published by several Catholic Actionists and the Secretary of the Committee in the Jesuit paper that the Committee accommodates sectarianism that is totally Opposed to the principles and policy of the Indian National Congress. The resolutions passed by the All India Catholics' Conference of Bangalore which was organized by Mr. Aloysius Soares, Chevalier Varkey and Mr. B. S. Gilani have produced the demand from the Head Office of the Indian National Congress to be furnished with evidence in support of the allegations of zoolum's made against the late Congress Ministers and the Congress. The 'atrocities' campaign launched by Mr. Soares in the " Examiner" and Mr. Gilani's statement that no Roman Catholic can take part in any political action without the permission of the hierarchy of the Church of Rome repudiate the contention of the Goa Congress Committee that the membership of this Committee is not incompatible with membership of Catholic Action.

The announcement you published is likely to mislead those who have to correct understanding of the background of Goan conditions and the position of the Church of Rome vis-a-vis the active membership of the Congress. The Indian National Congress accepts no hegemony from political or sectarian foreign agency and there is no justification for any Congress Committee for exposing the Indian National Congress to the compromise of the character. It is ridiculous, further, to imagine the Congress allowing its members to carry on anti-Congress propaganda of the kind that is being carried on by Messrs. Varkey and Gilani. In the circumstances, all Goan Nationalists should and must join the Indian National Congress and not any Committee set up under the inspiration, control or influence of Catholic Action.

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 31st August 1940

Goan Artists' Meeting

Under the auspices of the Goa Congress Committee a public meeting of Goan Artists will be held to-day (Saturday) at 6 p.m. to protest against the Art Exhibition in Goa. The meeting will be held at the offices of the Goa Congress Committee, Ambewadi, Girgaum, opposite Majestic Cinema.

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 30th August 1940

Goans Demand Prohibition

Promise Full Support To Bombay Prohibition Board.

The following resolution was passed by the Executive Committee of the Goa Congress Committee in its meeting held on August 19 :—

This meeting of the Executive Committee having considered the beneficial effects of the Prohibition policy of the Congress Ministry of the Province of Bombay and of the immense good which the introduction of Prohibition in the City of Bombay did to the people of this city and to the Goans in particular, and having witnessed the immediate results of this policy evidenced by the raising of the moral tone of the Goan people and an improvement in their economic conditions, regret that the Government of this Province, now in being, has not given effect to the Prohibition policy of the Congress Ministry inspite of their declared intention to do so.

Having given full consideration to all these factors this Committee is of conviction that Prohibition is a necessity for the people of India, and hereby resolve to give full co-operation to the Prohibition Board of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee in its efforts to re-introduce Prohibition in this Province.

Bombay, the 3rd September 1940.

Sir,

Reference attached, I beg to report that in accordance with the advice and suggestions of Subhas Chandra Bose some Goans organised in Bombay under the banner of the Congress and formed Goa Congress Committee in October 1938 having opened its office on the 2nd floor, 21, Dalai Street Fort, Bombay. Its office is now situated in room No. 16-B. Block " G " Ambewadi, Girgaum, Bombay. They have named it as the Goa Congress Committee (Bombay Branch).

This Committee is known as Goa Congress Committee (Bombay Branch).

Bombay, 5th September 1940.

The Commissioner of Police,

Bombay.

Dear Sir,

I beg to bring to your notice that a lawyer by name of J. P. Lobo, having his office at Jambulwadi, Dhabitalao, Bombay, Opposite Edward Cinema, is carrying on agitation against the subscriptions to the War Fund being collected in the Goan residential Clubs at Mazgaon.

I may add that he is from Goa and naturalized British subject. He is the President of the Mazgaon Federation of Goan Clubs, and also the

Manager of St. Joseph's Club, situated at Love Lane, Mazgaon. This man is active member of the Goa Congress Committee and though many Goans are loyal to the King Emperor and want to subscribe liberally to the Fund, this man is spreading sedition and injecting poison in the minds of illiterate members of the Mazgaon Clubs.

I hope you will be kind enough to order inquiries to be made regarding the truth of the above statements and take the necessary action if you think so.

Yours faithfully,

A Patriot.

Bombay, 7th October 1940.

Sir,

With reference to the attached I beg to report that J. P. Lobo is to be one Mr. Josep Piedade Lobo, Ch. (R.C.), aged about 48 years, occ. Advocate, Res. 36-40, Gowalia Tank, Bombay. He is a native of Goa and is a Naturalized British subject. He passed the matriculation examination of the Bombay University in the year 1918 and B.A. examination from St. Xavier's College in 1922. He passed the LL.B. Examination in the year 1925 and is practising in Small Causes and Police Courts in Bombay. He is a President of the Mazgaon Federation Goanese Club and Manager of the St. Joseph Club Mazgaon.

It is a fact that he is connected with the Goa Congress Committee in Bombay. Enquiries made in the locality go to show that Mr. Joseph Lobo has been collecting Funds for war purposes from Goanese people from Mazgaon and has appealed the Congress people from clubs at Mazgaon to contribute towards war funds. I could not get any corroboration of the allegations against him that he is carrying anti-war propaganda. Someone seems to have maliciously sent this anonymous petition against him.

Sd/—

Sub-Inspector of Police,

C.I.D., S.B. (I).

The Bharat Jyoti, dated 6th April 1941

National Week

Goa Congress Committee Plans : Bombay, Saturday.

The attention of all Goans is drawn to the celebration of National Week which begins on Sunday, the 6th instant and ends with the observance of Jallianwalla Bagh Day on Sunday the 13th instant.

The observance of National Week this year has a special significance for us, and should be observed in a special manner.

In order therefore that all Goans should celebrate this week in the manner set out by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, the Goa Congress Committee requests all its members to join in the observance of National Week according to the programme arranged by the District Congress Committees of the Wards in which they live.

Below copy of No. 215 dated 28th December 1941 with its enclosure from Railway Police Inspector, Special Duty, Goa Frontier Castlerock Regarding S. X. Mendis,.

Confidential.

No. 2/IND/39-III

Office of the Dy. Inspr. Gen. of Police C.I.D.

Province of Bombay, Post Box No. 46.

Poona 8th January 1942.

Forwarded with compliments to the Deputy Commissioner of Police S.B.I. Bombay, for information.

Assistant:

To The Inspr. Gen. of Police, C.I.D. Intelligences Branch Province of Bombay, Poona.

CL/GR

Sir,

There is nothing on record about S. X. Mendis.

Encl: 2

No. 215 of 1941.

Castlerock, dated 28th December 1941.

To,

The Deputy Inspector General of Police,
Criminal Investigation Department,
Province of Bombay, Poona.

Reference.—No. 7/FOR/1941, dated 8th August 1941.

Subject.—Incident of interest to C.I.D.

Sir,

I respectfully report that one S. X. Mendis, an Indian Portuguese National travelled by 28 Down on 27th December 1941 ex Goa to Bombay. On arrival of the train at Castlerock he was asked to declare about letters etc. in his possession. Amongst his papers a resolution passed by Goa Youth League at its meeting held on 22nd December 1941 was found. It is kept herewith for favour of information. He appeared to be a political agitator and expresses views against Salazar Regime for his double dealings and failing side with the allies.

From the conversation with him it transpired that he is a member of Goa Youth League and also Member of Indian Federation of Labour, Bombay. It is learnt that this individual with another colleague of his one R. Khatkade also a member of Goa Youth League sought for a political interview with his Majesty's Britanic Consul at Nova Goa to express their views on Salazar regime.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant.

(Signed)

Railway Police Inspector, Special duty
Goa Frontier Castlerock.

Goa Youth League.

Nova Goa.

This meeting of the Central Executive of the Goa Youth League fully sympathises with Russia, China, Britain and America for the heroic struggle they are carrying against the Fascist Dictatorship in the world. Allied force occupied Timor to check Fascist progress in the Far East. By protesting the occupation the time has now come for Salazar to decide once for all, instead of double dealings his stand in this war. And should Salazar choose to link the fate of Portugal with that of the Axis avowedly, the people of Goa firmly appreciate the step which for Britain would be inevitable to take as regards the Salazar regime in Portuguese India.

President.

Bombay, 20th January 1942

Sir,

With reference to the attached, I beg to state that we have no papers about S. X. Mendis or R. Khatkade mentioned therein. Both appear to be connected with the Goa Youth League and the Goa Congress Committee in Goa. Their names do not appear in our files of the Goa Congress Committee of Bombay and also the Goa Youth League, Bombay.

The Labour Branch has a file of the Indian Federation of Labour, but the names of either of them are not mentioned therein.

GOAN ASSOCIATION

361, Hornby Road, Fort,
Bombay, 25th July 1944.

The Consul for Portugal,
Portuguese Consulate,
Bombay.

Sir,

Reference.—Goan Union Mass Meeting and Goa Congress Committee's Pamphlet " Attack on Indian Rupee " " Portuguese Fascism Exposed.".

I beg to draw your attention to the report published by the Goan Union in the Goan Press in Bombay including the Goa Times, in its issue of July 22nd 1944 at page 9 under the caption "NAGOILET Rs. 1,00,00,000" and signed by Mr. J. P. Lobo, for Special Committee of the Goan Union. From the aforesaid report which is in konkani, you will readily see that it is introducing to the Goan public a booklet styled as "*An attack on Indian Rupee*" and "*Portuguese Fascism Exposed*", and alleged to have been published by the Goa Congress Committee, I am enclosing a copy of the said pamphlet for your ready reference and the same is at present available to the public at New Book Depot, on Hornby Road, Bombay. We have gone through it and find that it contains several false and malicious statements against the Portuguese Government with ulterior motives. On your perusal of the said pamphlet we feel sure that you will agree with us that the object of the writer is to bring the Portuguese Government to contempt in misrepresenting facts to the outside world. The Pamphlet also makes unfounded attack on Dr. Salazar, our Premier and his Government.

From the reports in the Press and the aforesaid report in the *Goa Times* dated 22nd July 1944, it is clear that the Goan Union is a party to bring the Portuguese Government to contempt in upholding such blackmailing publication against the Portuguese Government, and it appears from the said report that at the forthcoming meeting of the Goan Union fixed for on 30th July 1944 at 11-00 a.m. at the Instituto Luso Indiano's Hall, Burrows Lane, Bombay the organizers of the meeting intend to expose the Portuguese Government in the same manner the author of the aforesaid pamphlet has misrepresented facts in the said publication.

In this connection I would draw your attention to the speech delivered by Mr. J. P. Lobo at the meeting of the Goan Union held on 23rd April 1944 at St. Annes Girls School, Burrows Lane, where he had publicly asserted that the merchants were charging 10 to 12 per cent " *Vhattau* " for exchanging British Indian currency into Portuguese Indian currency and that it seemed to him there was also the hand of the Government behind this business.

The organizers of the meeting have not cared to study the exchange problem nor it is apparent that their object is to solve the exchange problem but the meeting is being organized to avail of an opportunity of call a Mass Meeting with a view to bring the Portuguese Government to contempt. The reports published by the Special Committee of the Goan Union in the Press on 15th April 1944 and subsequent reports and the discussion held at the last meeting held on 23rd April 1944 all reveal that the organisers have not cared to study the subject and one of the reasons for adjourning the meeting was due to the House being convinced of the ulterior object of the organizers, were not prepared to allow them to pass any resolutions unless proper notice was given to all the existing institutions and members of the Goan Union so that all could come and enlighten the house on the issue. You will appreciate that no steps have been taken by the organisers to that end but instead ever since they have been carrying on mischievous propaganda with a view to have large number of people present at the meeting and there bring the Portuguese Government to contempt. If that was not the idea, then one sees no reasons why the aforesaid pamphlet has been referred to in the signed report of the Goan Union to the Press, and why they have not asked for co-operation or advice over this matter from other institutions who have already moved in the matter namely the " Instituto Indo Portuguese and the Goan Association ", and inspite of the fact that all the papers edited in Bombay both vernacular and English have been publishing the reports of the steps taken by the institutions for the purpose of solving the Exchange problem. You too are aware Sir, that this institution has already moved H.E. the Minister for Colonies in the matter and the representation is at present before the authorities. It is, therefore, clear that there is no justification in the Mass Meeting of Goans under the auspices of the Goan Union when the other institutions long before the Goan Union thought of it had already done what was necessary, and the matter was pending decision of the Government.

As I have already stated above, the motives of the organizers of the forthcoming meeting is nothing but to carry on false propaganda with a view to bring the Portuguese Government to contempt and so that the authorities might not think that the Goan Communiy is behind this move in Bombay, I am approached to bring these facts to your notice, so that prompt action might be taken by you in the right direction to see that our Government is not rediculed by some interested parties in British India in the name of Goans.

I may also state that on enquiries I learn that there is no such organization as " Goa Congress Committee " and it would be proper for you to send a copy of the aforesaid publication to the Intelligence Department with a request to find out who are the members, who is in the Committee, if regular meetings are held and minute book is maintained etc. As far as I understand with a view to avoid the clutches of law the name of the Goa Congress Committee is mentioned so as to show that the publication is made by the aforesaid Committee. It would be easy to find out from the New Book Co. as to who has been placing the book for sale there and also from the Press as to who had given the book for printing. The investigation Department I am sure, will be able to trace the necessary information and proper steps to ban a publication which is full of false propaganda.

You will be no doubt aware that at present no Meeting can be carried on without the previous consent from the Commissioner of Police, and as this meeting is most objectionable, I am sure it should not be difficult for you to represent the case as is apparent from the enclosed documents as to the authorities concerned, so that necessary measures are promptly taken.

I assure you that this Association will render you all possible Co-operation in the matter.

I have the honour to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) **POMPEIA VIEGAS**,

(V S. de **POMPEIA VIEGAS**),

Hony. Secretary.

Encl. One Pamphlet

"An attack on Indian Rupee—Portuguese Fascism Exposed".

A copy of the *Goa Times*, dated 22nd July 1944.

Copy to H.E. Dr. Oliveira Salazar,
H.E. the Minister for Colonies,
H.E. the Governor General of
Portuguese India, for information.

True copy.

Portuguese Consulate at Bombay 28th July 1944.

Vice Consul for Portugal Incharge
of the Consulate of Portugal.

Consulado General de Portugal

Na India Britanica

Bombay.

No. 387

Proc. 12.

The Commissioner of Police,
Bombay.

Bombay, 28th July 1944.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that yesterday I have written to the Government of Bombay requesting the ban of the sale of the enclosed

pamphlet entitled "**An Attack on the Indian Rupee—Portuguese Fascism Exposed**", published by the Goa Congress Committee, and to take such steps as may be deemed necessary against the author of the said publication, as it contains highly objectionable matter against the Portuguese Government and their Premier Dr. Oliveira Salazar.

2. To-day, I have received a letter from the Honorary Secretary, "Goan Association" forwarding a copy of the said pamphlet and also a copy of the newspaper "**The Goa Times**", dated the 22nd instant, calling my attention to the Mass Meeting of Goan Community which is to be held at the Instituto Luso Indiano Hall on Sunday the 30th instant at 11-15, in which letter, he states :—

From the reports in the Press and the aforesaid report in the *Goa Times*, dated 22nd July 1944, it is clear that the Goan Union is a party to bring the Portuguese Government to contempt in upholding such blackmailing publication against the Portuguese Government, and it appears from the said report that at the forthcoming meeting of the Goan Union fixed for on 30th July 1944 at 11 a.m. at the Instituto Luso Indiano Hall, Burrows Lane, Bombay, the organizers of the meeting intend to expose the Portuguese Government in the same manner the author of the aforesaid pamphlet has misrepresented facts in the said publication.

3. In view of what has appeared in the said "*Goa Times*" and the pamphlet and what has been stated in the letter of the Goan Association's Secretary, I beg to request you to be so good as either to prevent the holding of the proposed Mass Meeting of Goans, or in the alternative, to take such steps as to prevent in the said Meeting any reference whatsoever to the said pamphlet and to the offensive correspondence which has appeared in certain papers, as well as stop any damaging statements or remarks against the Portuguese Government and Portuguese Authorities.

4. For your perusal and necessary action I enclose herewith a copy of the above mentioned letter from the Secretary, " Goan Association " and also a copy of the said "**Goa Times**" in which on Page 9 there appears an article under the heading " Nagoilet Rs. 1,00,00,000" (Swindling of Rs 1,00,00,000), signed by J. P. Lobo for the Special Committee of the Goan Union. In this article the signatory refers to the above mentioned pamphlet and calls the Goans to the Meeting in which he proposes to give full details of the alleged swindling.

5. Trusting that you will be good enough to give serious and urgent consideration to the subject matter of this letter and to take immediate and requisite measures, I thank you much in anticipation

I have the honour to be.

Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

(Signed)

Vice-Consul for Portugal, In charge of the
Consulate of Portugal.

Bombay, 29th July 1944

No. 6251/4

To

The Vice-Consul for Portugal,
In charge of the Consulate of Portugal,
British India, BOMBAY.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 387/12-0-44, dated 28th July 1944. I have the honour to inform you that the question of prescribing objectionable literature rests with the Government of Bombay and not with me. I am, therefore, awaiting the orders of the Government of Bombay on your request addressed to it before taking any action in the matter of the pamphlet entitled "**An attack on the Indian Rupee—Portuguese Fascism Exposed.**"

2. With regard to the meeting convened by the Goan Union at the Instituto Luso Indiano Hall, Burrows Lane, Bombay, I regret I am unable either to prevent the holding of this meeting or to control the subjects discussed therein as the meeting is legally a private one and does not, therefore, come under the general ban existing upon the holding of public meetings.

3. Much as I regret my inability to comply with your requests, it will be clear to you that I have no legal authority to intervene in this matter. and the only course open to you is, therefore, to approach the Government of Bombay.

I have the honour to be.

Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

(Signed)

Dated, 20th October 1944

Sir,

Two copies of the book English entitled "**Denationalization of Goans**" (Padma) have been purchased from the Padma Publication Limited, and Put up herewith. A review of this book is published on page 18 of the Bombay Chronicle Weekly, dated the 8th October 1944 and covers two third of this page.

A draft reply is put up below forwarding a copy of this book to Government as desired :—

Returned with compliment, together with a copy of the book in English entitled "**Denationalization of Goans**" published by Padma Publications-Limited, Bombay.

O.C.

D.C.P., S.B.I.

An Attack on the Indian Rupee.
PORtUGUESE FASCISM EXPOSED : ISSUED BY THE GOA
CONGRESS COMMITTEE.
DEBASING THE RUPEE.

Public opinion in India is unaware of an insidious attack launched on the Indian rupee, although this is going on for sometime within the Indian territory itself. Both the public and the Government of India seem to ignore that, under the inspiration of the Dictatorial Government of Portugal, British Indian currency has been forcibly depreciated in the neighbouring territory of Goa. Under its so called "neutral" war policy, the Portuguese Government is systematically undermining the value of the Indian current medium of exchange to the advantage of its own inconvertible paper notes.

The British Indian currency has circulated always freely in Portuguese India alongside with the Portuguese currency, for both the currencies have the same unit, the silver rupee. As a matter of fact, British Indian money was accepted in Goa at a small premium, as everyone knew it to be a sounder money. All of a sudden, taking advantage of a critical moment for Great Britain in the present war, an order was issued by the Portuguese Fascist Government to all its offices and departments to refuse British Indian currency notes and coins. It was for the first time in the history of Portuguese India that such an exceptional measure was taken against the Indian rupee. No public explanation was given for the newly introduced important change. It is most significant that no such step was taken in the first Great War, when Portugal fought as an ally of Great Britain, although the other economic and financial relations between the two countries were the same. The only condition in these relations which is not the same is that Portugal is ruled during the present war by a Fascist Dictatorship.

As it could be easily foreseen, this sudden order upset foreign exchanges, disorganized trade and most of the Indian rupee, causing harm to India's credit. As a result of Government refusal to accept British Indian metallic and paper currency although it is still permitted a restricted circulation in the country, the situation has completely reverted to the detriment of the Indian rupee. British Indian coins and paper notes are now exchanged at a great loss against the Portuguese bank notes. *The Banco National Ultramarino*, a bank controlled by State and the only one functioning in Goa, practically refuses to exchange British Indian currency notes, but a host of private money changers, allowed to trade freely with currencies against all clear dictates of law, only accept them at fantastic discount.

Following the Government example, one by one the other public institutions controlled by Government as the municipalities, the village community associations, the lottery and charity organizations, Santa Casa and Hospicio, also started refusing Indian currency and stipulated for payment in Portuguese currency. In its turn, even the Railway Company, although managed by a British concern, the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, found itself constrained, since December 1943, to accept only Portuguese currency and to refuse British Indian money. And gradually, the petty traders dealing with the so-called controlled-price articles, such as rice, sugar, kerosene, and oil, began refusing to accept payments in the Indian currency. As a matter of fact everyone in Goa, acts as if they had lost faith in the money issued under the authority of the Government of British India.

But the most extraordinary of all is that, after the fateful decision of the Portuguese Government, everybody accepts as unquestioned the stability of the Portuguese currency as compared with the British currency. Everyone seems to take for granted that the respective values have reversed due to the fortunes of the war. Although this is a direct consequence of Government's order the simple-minded new faith in the Portuguese currency is based on the ignorance of its true nature which is known to few people. A close examination will show how unreliable and risky is the credit attached to this currency which has nevertheless superseded the all-India rupee. It will show too, how low has sunk the credit of the British Indian rupee in the minds of the people in consequence of the Fascist move.

THE PORTUGUESE CURRENCY.

The monetary unit of Goa is the silver rupee and its whole monetary system is governed by the British Indian system. The Portuguese currency circulating in the country consists of small amount of coins minted by the Government and a great amount of paper notes issued by the *Banco National Ultramarino* under State control. The only metallic coins minted by the State are those of small denomination made of silver, nickel, copper and some other alloy. Gold money has never been coined by Portuguese Government mints and even insufficient for the needs of local circulation.

It was precisely the incapacity of the Portuguese State to produce the necessary quantity of metallic coins for circulation that forced the government to allow, in spite of the law, the free circulation of the British Indian coins within the Portuguese territory. Due to this lack of coins, even in peace time Portuguese paper notes of one rupee, eight annas and four annas were circulating in Goa, some of them torn, mended, dirty and falling to pieces because no regular withdrawal of soiled notes and the issue of new ones was ever in use. That is why the main demand for small cash was and still is met by British Indian coins. It was due to lack of Portuguese coins that the Portuguese bank-notes were never convertible into silver rupee. They badly need British Indian coins which paradoxically enough they now deprecate. One can imagine the plight of the people who have now to produce Portuguese coins even for their small purchases.

The bulk of the Portuguese currency consists of paper notes issued under legal control by the *Banco National Ultramarino*. The huge amount of convertible notes issued by this bank is kept in circulation only by virtue of the power of State for it has no gold reserve and its fiduciary backing is insignificant. The fate of the issue depends entirely on the precarious stability of the bank and the fortunes of the Portuguese State. This currency is not accepted nor exchanged anywhere outside Goa, not even in other Portuguese colonies. Such is the money which is being given preference to the rupee linked to pound sterling and accepted all over India. To appreciate the instability of the Goan paper currency one has only to know the peculiar nature of the bank by whom it is issued.

THE "BANCO NACIONAL ULTRAMARINO"

The *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* or the " National Overseas Bank " is a private banking institution which enjoys the monopoly of issuing banknotes, subject to Government legal control, throughout the Portuguese colonial Empire, with the exception of the Portuguese colony of Angola

in Western Africa. It possesses no adequate metallic backing to ensure free convertibility of its notes into the standard value. The reserves of the bank consists of notes of the *Banco de Portugal* and other notes, coins and securities which in their turn have no adequate metallic backing.

The prime and almost the sole function of this bank is the emission of paper notes. It is of little or no use for financing industry and the trade of the country. It accepts deposits but they earn no interests. The government-controlled institutions are compelled by law to deposit their funds in the bank without receiving any interests, tens of lakhs of rupees being thus locked in Goa as well as in its Bombay Branch. It seldom grants loans and does at such high rates that they are almost prohibitive. Theoretically, the notes issued are convertible into the standard metal according to Article 40 of the law of July 26th, 1929 regulating the matter, *but* actually the bank was never able to fulfil its promise even in normal times. At present it is issuing notes to an amount of nearly Rs. 1,40,00,000. The exact figure is not disclosed since the monthly publication of its balance-sheets has been suddenly stopped for unknown reasons.

At the end of the last war, the *Banco Ultramarino* induced people to transfer their funds to Portugal predicting the *escudo*. Through the inter intermediary of its offices, large funds were transferred from India to Portugal but instead of the foreseen increase a catastrophic fall of the *escudo* caused the ruin of many Goan families who lost 90 per cent, of their remittances in the speculation. Under the present Dictatorial system the speculation goes on a bigger scale and at the cost of the Indian currency the number of victims being now unlimited and spreading outside Goa. For the bank is now all-powerful, some of its share-holders holding high posts in the Dictatorial Government of Portugal. Like most of the colonial banks, as it was well known in the case of the French Bank of Indo China, it has strong pro-fascist leanings.

ILLEGALITY AND SECRECY.

Under Art. 46 of the Dictatorial Decree of July 26th, 1929, the *Banco National Ultramarino*, being the only bank existing in Portuguese India, is bound to conduct the exchange operations at rates issued by official quotations. But after the order given by the Government to its departments to refuse British Indian currency not only did it cease to fulfil the legal obligation to regulate the exchange rate and issue and post the official quotations, but as we have already said, it simply refused to exchange British Indian currency.

The same article forbids under the pain of law to deal with foreign currencies without special license. But suddenly, after the new Government order, a host of money changers have appeared in the market and almost every merchant transacts with currencies, some accepting British Indian coins at a discount of As. 2 per rupee, others exchanging notes at a high rate of 15 per cent, to 20 per cent, and still others at more fantastic rates. Under the very eyes of the authorities or with their complicity, speculators act openly spreading wild rumours about the war the Japanese invasion, the Indian National Movement and the inflation in India. Thus in a truly Fascist manner the dictatorial rulers resort to the violation of their own law when it suits their purpose. Of course the deliberate lawlessness serves to conceal the gambling manipulations of the bank.

The whole operation is conducted in the typical Jesuits manner of the Portuguese Dictatorship. Every step taken in the matter was kept secret. No special law was issued to bring about such important change in the life of the country. Only a confidential order to refuse British currency was given by the government to its departments. Without making the slightest amendment to the law which regulates the function of the bank, it was quietly allowed to employ black market methods in dealing with British Indian currency. The bank was simply permitted to stop the publication of rates of exchange in contravention of the Article of the law. Without any public explanation the publication of the monthly balance-sheets of the bank in the government gazette was stopped. In spite of the penalty imposed by law, a multitude of money changers are freely allowed to speculate with the debased Indian rupee. The only official explanation given for introducing this revolutionary change in the economic and financial life of the country was a curt reference to the sovereign rights of the Government of Portugal to act in the matter without having to give account to anybody.

THE GROWING DISCREDIT OF THE RUPEE.

Alarmed by the increasing discredit of his money, the British Consul in Portuguese India, a special representative nominated for the period of war, summoned to his quarters some British Indian merchants dealing with exchanges and warned them for their activities prejudicial to British credit. But this did not bring any change in the state of affairs as they quietly pursued their transactions under the protection of the Portuguese authorities. The depreciation of the Indian rupee continued to grow at the same pace both to the disadvantage of the Indian credit and of the producers and consumers of Goa.

The discredit created by government action is so great that people have to get rid of the depreciated Indian currency and to hoard the valueless paper of the *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* as if it were a precious treasure. Goan emigrants coming back from British India and Africa with their hard-earned savings immediately on their arrival exchange the greater part into Portuguese notes and keep them safe to assure their future. They are unaware of the great risk they run in saving the worthless currency which is entirely dependent on the not very bright future of the Portuguese Colonial Bank. The panicky atmosphere is solely due to the abrupt and mysterious refusal on the part of the Government to accept a money which was previously accepted as of equal if not superior value.

The arbitrary action of the Government of Portugal is characteristic of the Fascist regime which aims at serving the interests of the big banks at the expense of common people. The forced debasement of the Indian currency, provoked for the sole benefit of the colonial bank is depriving Goan emigrants of many lakhs of rupees of their savings. It is well known that in normal years previous to this war the amount of their remittances to Goa was of more than a crore of rupees per year. It has considerably increased at present. Calculating at only 15 per cent. the discount they suffer, the total loss can be put safely at more than 25 lakhs per year. It is nothing less than a bare-faced robbery reminiscent of the method of plunder employed by the Nazis in the occupied countries of Europe. Besides, one shudders to think over the fate which awaits in future of the hoarded currency. Also great is the loss to the export

trade of Goa which is almost entirely done with British India. Previous to war the amount of the exports amounted to one fifth of the imports, while in 1941 they fell to one seventh.

As a matter of fact, even in normal times the very existence of the huge and valueless paper issue which the local population is forced to accept as legal tender was responsible for the rise in the cost of living which prevails in Goa. Automatically, it provoked a depreciation of the value of money which means a rise in the general level of prices, since this increase of money is made without any corresponding increase in the volume of commodities. For this currency has no stake in the country and is not related to any productive activity. Its use and circulation is assured by mere imposition of the Government for the exclusive benefit of the imperialist interests. Even its present revaluation does not benefit the country.

The higher rates of the Portuguese notes which prevail for the moment in the internal market may enable the Government officers and those who are paid in this currency to buy up everything cheaper than the common people who only possess British Indian currency and have to suffer greater privations. But it is an illusory privilege, for they too are affected by the rise in the general cost of living brought by the imposition of the inconvertible money and this rise is far greater than the benefit they gain by being paid in Portuguese currency. Both the existence of this currency and the high customs barrier established to increase the government income are responsible for the dearness of living prevailing in Goa in comparison with other parts of India. They reduced the purchasing-power of the rupee to half of its real value. They are the main instruments of the economic ruin of our country.

THE CUSTOMS BARRIER.

Concerning the customs policy of the Portuguese Government we have only to repeat here what we have explained more at length on other occasions. The high customs duties imposed on goods of prime necessity such as rice and other staple foods, under cover of protection to local agriculture, have raised the cost of living to the point of affecting the general cost of local production, thus decreasing the country's productivity and impoverishing the people. The main result is that the population, deprived of the means of living is forced to emigrate and at the same time the country has to import more and more goods which it is unable to produce at competitive cost of production and to export less and less. Both the Goan mass emigration and the unfavourable balance of trade are to a great extent a consequence of the customs policy linked with the Portuguese currency.

In fact, Portuguese India is growing economically deficient since the amount of its imports is several times superior to the value of its exports. In 1940, the value of imports was Rs. 1,45,74,060 as against that of exports of only Rs. 28,88,666 the deficit in the trade being registered at Rs. 1,16,85,394. Later on the position worsened, the value of imports being more than seven times superior to the exports instead of five times. The huge deficit of more than a crore of rupees per year is mostly balanced by the savings sent or brought to Goa by its emigrants since there is no other source of external income after the ban of Goan lotteries in British India. It is the hard earned money of the emigrants that serves to balance the value of imports.

Under the present Fascist Dictatorship of Salazar, the ruinous customs policy together with the extortionist currency system have been ruthlessly aggravated. Both have reduced the Goan population to a state of dire poverty forcing it to leave the country *en masse* as domestic servants or cheap menial or clerical workers. For the imperialist policy of the Portuguese " New State " is frankly based on the racialist doctrine of the Colonial Act or the *Act Colonial* of Salazar which emphatically denies the population of the colonies the right of self-determination and considers this to be an exclusive attribute of the Portuguese race of conquerors.

PORTUGUESE FASCISM.

Under the regime of this " New State " which is a replica of the Fascist " New Order ", Goans have been deprived of the most elementary rights. All civil liberties have been suppressed even in peace time. They are denied proper representation in public bodies. The authorities are not responsible to Goan interests and welfare. Long before the war the press has been subjected to a severe pre-censorship which does not allow the slightest criticism of the authorities and ruthlessly suppresses even well-known facts. The rupee problem is not allowed to be openly discussed in Goa. The country is under an arbitrary police rule. The new imperialism is run under the blasphemous symbol of the " Cross and Sword". More than ever Goans have been politically and mentally enslaved and have become so blind to their abject condition that their press willingly praises the racialist Salazar only for being a religious minded person. Indeed, Goa has become a Fascist outpost in India.

In every respect, the new political and economic regime of Portugal is akin to those of the Axis powers. In many of its aspects it draws inspiration from the Fascist and Nazi doctrines. The Parliament of the previous democratic republican regime has been suppressed and replaced by a decorative assembly packed with dummies. The elections are a farce. Political parties are forbidden excepting the *União Nacional* which is a Fascist organisation. Its corporative feature has been copied from Italian Fascism. Politically, it is reactionary, culturally medieval and obscurantist and in every other respect backward. Its pro-Axis character was plainly shown during the Spanish Civil War, when Salazar boasted of its military participation in the fight against the republican democratic-forces at the side of the Spanish Falangists, the Italian Fascists and the Hitlerites.

One can thus easily understand why the sympathies of the Portuguese Dictatorship go to those who now fight against the democracies. It has, however, declared its " neutrality " in the present war paying at the same time lip homage to the " old alliance" between Portugal and Great Britain. To justify this dubious attitude, different from what was taken in the last Great War under the democratic republican regime, Salazar explained that he relied on the assurance given by Hitler " that he intended to respect the integrity of Portugal and of the Overseas Possessions should we remain neutral." But at the height of the Nazi victory in Europe, while the " old ally" was engaged in a life-and-death struggle, he took advantage of the " neutrality " to create a lack of confidence in the British Indian currency. And this was done precisely when most people believed in the invincibility of the Nazis and the British prestige was at its lowest ebb, in December 1940. The move, taken at this psychological moment. led the ignorant Goan people to get rid of the " unreliable " war currency.

Now that the position has changed in Europe the speculators on the political stock exchange still play on the probability of the Japanese invasion of India and the fate of the British Empire in the East with the unpredictable consequences for the rupee which ignorant folk consider as more British than Indian.

INEFFECTIVE RETALIATION.

The failure of the British representative in Goa to bring pressure on the Merchants led to a further discredit of the rupee. In retaliation for the Portuguese Government's adamant attitude in this question, all sorts of obstacles have been created on the British Indian side to Goan imports and exports, for which we are almost entirely dependent on the Indian market and transport thus completely upsetting trade relations with the neighbouring territory. But the retaliatory measures have proved quite ineffective since they do not affect the Government nor the Bank and only hurt the Goan population for whom the Portuguese imperialist rulers never had the slightest concern. That is why the indirect methods have failed to influence a Government absolutely indifferent towards our people. They have only increased the lack of the bare necessities and the state of starvation which the helpless population is enduring without a single protest. In fact, most of the sufferings now endured by Goans are due to this forced debasement of the Indian rupee.

Due to these reprisals, Goa is lacking in the most essential food and other articles of daily consumption. The scarcity has raised the prices to more than twice and thrice of those in the neighbouring country. Due also to lack of any rationing and effective price control, to the existing free profiteering and hoarding, Goa has become a great black market swarming with food racketeers. Rice which can be rarely had at the official price can be always obtained at about one rupee a seer. Sugar which is denied in the ration shops is available outside at one rupee or more a pound. And so on for other articles. The situation is so unbearable that even the moneyed class prefer to leave the country and settle in British India only to be able to assure the indispensable necessities of life. The emigrant who returns home can see that the plight of his people is worse than of the peoples who are at war.

When the Goan seaman on British ships comes back home after escaping death in far away seas, he is met with sad reception at the frontier railway station of Collem. He is made to pay customs duties even for the small gifts he brings to his relatives, and for that he must produce Portuguese currency. As he is only able to pay with the British Indian currency at his disposal, he meets with a sharp refusal on the part of the customs officers. Since no registered money changers exist, he has to acquire Portuguese currency from suspicious looking persons who roam about the station. He depends entirely on them and has to bargain hard to save the value of his precious money, for no rates of exchange are fixed by any authority. In some cases emigrants received only a Portuguese bank-note of Rs. 5 for a British Indian currency note of Rs. 10. No wonder that on reaching home he thinks first in keeping safe his precious savings by converting them into a more "reliable" currency. Such is the power of the myth created by a simple order of the Fascist power.

How long are Goans to endure the unbearable situation ?

How long are the Government and the public opinion of India going to tolerate the discredit of the Indian rupee?

As a result of the Goan lethargy and the olympian passivity of the official circles of India, the debasement of the British Indian currency can only go on increasing with the prolongation of war which puts a heavy strain on Indian public finance. Since the beginning of the treacherous operation started in Goa more than three years ago, the process has been going from bad to worse. People will continue to lose faith in British Indian financial stability to an extent that they will completely refuse payment in a currency which is forfeiting its claim to the title of money. And no one can foretell that it will not create a wide-spread distrust even outside Goa. A writer connected with the *Banco Ultramarino* trying to defend in a Bombay paper, confesses that large sums have been transferred from Bombay to Goa even by people who are altogether strangers to Goa. They too are bound to suffer from the final collapse of the convertible currency.

It is, therefore, high time to stop this speculation which is taking advantage of a great crisis to destroy confidence in the Indian currency. Such a matter cannot be dismissed under the pretext that Goa is of very small importance in India. Measures more effective than those already tried without success are badly needed. The failure of the past methods of appeasing the dictators is known to all by its tragic results. Yet the policy of calm complacency towards the minor satellites of the Axis powers seems to continue. They are even allowed to imperil the stability of the Indian rupee inside India. Unless an end is put to the mischievous manipulation the present state of affairs will go on deteriorating. It is in the interest of India to save the credit of her money.

Sir.

Copies of messages from H. B. M. Consulate, Macao were delivered to (1) Dr. Jose Alban D'Souza, President of Goan Union, Bombay and (2) Mr. Michael Francis Santa Maria, Michael House, Dukarwadi, Girgaum, Bombay respectively and their acknowledgement taken. A draft reply is put up below for favour of approval.

R. W. C.

The text of the Messages from H. B. M. Consulate, Macao received through H. M. Ambassador at Chungking has been communicated to (1) Dr. Jose Alban D'Souza, J. P., President, Goan Union, Bombay and (2) Mr. Michael Francis Santa Maria, Dukarwadi, Girgaum, Bombay, respectively,

O. C.

D. C. P. S. B. I.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 6th February 1945.

"Attack on Indian Rupee "

Mr. G. G. Palekar, Secretary of the Goa Congress Committee, Bombay Branch writes :—

The Government of India has banned the pamphlet " An Attack on the Indian Rupee" issued by the Goa Congress Committee in June 1944 and has seized the copies in possession of the publisher and the printer. The

ban has come as a surprise to us and particularly as it comes six months after the appearance of our publication which aimed at re-establishing the credit of the British Indian currency in Goa.

In fact, the deliberate discredit of the British Indian currency in benefit of the convertible paper notes of the *Banco National Ultramarino* started in 1940 at the worst moment of the war for Great Britain, was definitely an hostile act. As a result British Indian currency was badly depreciated in Goa and suffered a regular discount of 15 per cent or more in relation to the convertible Portuguese paper currency. And through this speculation the Goan emigrants of the poor class were robbed of more than a crore of rupees on their remittances to Goa.

In consequence of our exposure a strong public protest was raised by the Goan community in Bombay which till then limited itself to making humble appeals to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities ; and a Committee of Action was formed in Bombay to deal with the matter. Our booklet provoked the intervention of the Indian Chambers of Commerce. And as a result of the wide publicity given by the press to our full exposure within a short time, the *Banco National Ultramarino* started to accept British Indian currency at par, which it had refused systematically to do for more than three years and the discount of the British Indian Bank notes fell abruptly to 3 per cent even in black market.

The speculation on the Indian rupee still continues in Goa although in a much smaller scale than previously.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 15th September 1945.

Political Conference of Goans

The Honorary Secretary, Goan Congress Committee writes : —

Our experience of work in Goa has shown us that Goans are confronted with acute political, economic and social problems which are the consequences of four centuries of foreign domination. These problems cry aloud for solution. Besides, important issues have cropped up as a result of the end of war. These issues affect us as much as anybody else and we have a right to express our view on them.

With the end of war Fascism is supposed to have been laid low both in the east and west, but no notice seems to have been taken of the fact that it still thrives in Goa. In order to deliberate collectively over the problems and issues facing us, the Goa Congress Committee has decided to hold a Political Conference of all Goans in Bombay, Goa and elsewhere in the near future. We appeal to all nationalist Goans to give us their wholehearted co-operation and assistance by becoming members of the Reception Committee and Delegates and in every other way.

Rights of Goans Vindicated

T. B. Cunha, General Secretary, Goa Congress Committee, has issued the following statement :

The Goa Congress Committee welcomes the judgment of the High Court of Bombay that revokes the order of the Government of Bombay penalizing the Associated Advertisers and Printers Limited for printing our last book " Denationalisation of Goans. "

" The momentous Judgement vindicates the rights of Goans to freely ventilate their home grievances in British India without being at the mercy of the whims of a foreign Power who may resent their legitimate demand for

freedom and other political activities ". The importance of the pronouncement of the High Court is obvious for Goans, coming as it does after a series of restrictions put in British India on recent activities of our Committee.

" In fact, it is known that in June 1944 the Goa Congress Committee issued two publications in Bombay ; " *The Attack on the Indian Rupee*" and the "*Denationalisation of Goans*". The first booklet exposed the systematic discrediting of the British Indian currency in Goa during the war. This forced depreciation made in the benefit of the Portuguese bank and its inconvertible paper currency, caused a loss of more than a crore of rupees to poor Goan emigrants and upset the whole economic life in Goa. Soon after the publication of our booklet, the Portuguese bank started accepting British Indian currency and as a result the depreciation fell abruptly from 15 per cent. to nearly 5 per cent. Our second book the "*Denationalisation of Goans*" is a study based on historical facts and official data that aims at bringing a mental change among Goans and denounces the enslaving policy of the Portuguese imperialism.

"Last January, six months after their publication, both books were banned in British India and the copies forfeited. Last March a notice was served on the press forfeiting a security of Rs. 15,000 for printing our book "*Denationalisation of Goans*" as it was considered likely to prejudice His Majesty's relations with the Portuguese Government.

" Paradoxically enough, although both publications exclusively concern Portuguese Government, they were not banned in the Portuguese territory and are freely circulated and sold in Goa, but were banned in British India at a simple demand of the Consul for Portugal in Bombay. This queer situation resulted from the hasty action of the Consul who acted without being duly authorised by his Government".

" The judgment delivered by Mr. Justice Chagla on behalf of the High Court Bench represents an act of Justice to Goans whose publication have been suppressed."

Public Meeting

Under the auspices of the Goa Congress Committee Dr. A. G. Tendulkar spoke on the "*Political Destiny of Goans*" in the Forbes Gujarati Hall, Vithalbhai Patel Road on Sunday (23rd inst) morning.

At the outset he congratulated the Goa Congress Committee on their Victory against the Government of Bombay, in connection with the book "*Denationalisation of Goans*". The judgment of the full bench of the Bombay High Court was now well known to all.

Dr. Tendulkar, proceeding said that in recent years a feeling of political consciousness had come over the people of Goa who wanted to merge themselves into India—India United and Free. The way to get freedom was not easy. They must surmount untold obstacles and difficulties just as the Indian National Congress had done. There may be failures at some stage but every failure would bring them nearer to success. There was such a thing called Victory" in Defeati."

There was no freedom of speech and press in Goa and some of the lawyers in Goans get together and work step by step to stand up against the Fascist regime of Portuguese rule. They, may have to court imprisonment and other forms of penalty but they will find for themselves a place in the heart of

every Goan. He also said that in the fight against foreign aggression they could get the help and guidance of experienced politicians like Gandhi and Nehru.

Their methods and behaviour should be such as to create confidence in their own countrymen. The Parsis, for example, in British India, some years ago were ashamed to call themselves Indians and were extremely pro-British. But the Indian National Congress had created so much confidence in them that to-day they were proud to be called Indians and were actually helping the greatest political organisation of India.

They should be careful about people working in the wrong direction. This may be due to being misguided or to mischief. If the former is the case they could be advised and reformed, if the latter, then they should be dubbed as "Traitors".

Commenting on the difference that had arisen between the Goa Congress Committee and the Goan Youth League he had heard complaints that whereas the Committee was going dead slow, the Youth League was getting ahead faster. Personally he was of the opinion that it is better to be slow and sure than to run fast and be nowhere.

Finally Dr. Tendulkar asked the Goans to get together irrespective of Christians or Hindus and to adopt Indian habits of life. Especially the Christian ladies should wear Sarees than Gowns. He hoped that the Goa Congress Committee would counteract the mischief that Missionaries were doing in Goa. He expected the leaders of the Goan Community to organise one and a half lakhs of people in Bombay on national basis as well as their entire population in their own soil in Goa so that they could "localise" the enemy than to fight him against the wind mill and get scattered. He complimented Miss B. Branganza and others who were turning out good work for the "Freedom Movement".

Mr. Juis Jose D'Souza, B.Sc. (London) proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Tendulkar.

The meeting which commenced at 10-30 a.m. terminated—peacefully at 11-30 a.m. About 200 persons (including 25 ladies) were present.

J. D'SOUZA,

S. B. (I). C. I. D.

Sir,

After the meeting students belonging to the Goan Youth League who had assembled outside the hall distributed leaflets.

Goa Congress asks Portuguese to "Quit India"

At a general meeting held on March 3rd the Goa Congress Committee passed the following resolution: Although Goa cannot have any destiny of its own except that of our common motherland India of which it is an integral part, it finds itself chained to day by bonds of political and spiritual slavery to the bankrupt Portuguese Imperialism. We Goans are separated from the rest of Indians by artificial barriers created by an alien Portuguese rule which is incompetent, corrupt and callous to the needs and interests of Goan inhabitants. An inglorious rule of 435 years has systematically attempted to make us forget our culture and traditions and has landed us in complete economic ruin. The Portuguese have robbed us and exploited us and have forced upon us a costly bureaucracy and an alien civilization against which we revolt.

We are determined to end this rule which has forfeited all confidence is devoid of all moral sanctions and public support and to align ourselves with our brothers in India in common struggle for national liberation. Only a free India can look after and promote the national progress of her children. The Goa Congress Committee adhere to the national call of " Quit India " demand of the Indian National Congress and call upon the Portuguese to leave the shores of Goa, Daman and Diu so that we can achieve our destiny in common with the rest of India.

The Goa Congress Committee calls upon all the Goans in India and abroad to co-operate with us and lend us their active support for the liberation of our common motherland.

The following were elected for the Executive Committee :

President: Dr. A. G. Tendulkar.

General Secretary : Massillon Almeida.

Treasurer : G. G. Palekar.

Members: Peter J. Alvares.

George Vaz.

Laxmikant Borkar.

Elphinstone Dias.

J. S. Sukhtankar.

Dr. Luis Monteiro.

THE GOA CONGRESS COMMITTEE BOMBAY.

Sir.

The Annual general meeting of the above Committee was held on 3rd March 1946. It was held at No. 35 Hamam Street, Fort, Bombay and was presided over by Dr. A. G. Tendulkar. The following members were elected for the year 1946.

President: Dr. A. G. Tendulkar.

General Secretary : Massillon Almeida.

Members : Peter J. Alvares.

Laxmikant Borkar.

Elphinstone Dias.

J. S. Sukhtankar.

Dr. Luis Monteiro.

Treasurer : G. G. Palekar.

About 25 persons were present when the " Quit India " resolution was discussed and passed.

This information was given by the Editor, Goa Times, 1st Marine Street, Bombay, who has got some correspondence on the above subject.

F. J. D'SOUZA,

S. B. (I)., 11th March 1946.

Goa Political Conference

Under the auspices of the Goa Congress Committee a meeting was held on Sunday the 24th instant at 10 a.m. in the Maharashtra School, Opera House. The meeting was held to discuss certain arrangements to be made in connection with the proposed Goa Political Conference to be held in Bombay next month. The meeting was open only to members of the Goa Congress Committee and was a private meeting.

I was present outside till the meeting got over at about 11-30 a.m. and gathered the following information in a discreet manner :—

That Dr. A. G. Tendulkar presided over the meeting and that a reception committee of about 10 persons (all Goans) was formed to settle the place of the conference, to invite certain delegates and to make arrangement, for their stay in Bombay. The co-operation of all Nationalist News papers was requested to give publicity about the forthcoming conference and in particular the Konkani papers of Bombay were requested to send their representatives so that the news may reach in Goa. It was also decided to hold a further meeting within the next fortnight to decide upon other matters such as selection of a President of the Conference etc., about 15 persons attending the meeting.

F. J. D'SOUZA,

S. B. (I)., 25th March 1946.

The Bharat Jyoti, dated 14th April 1946.

Goa Staunchly behind United India

The President of the Goa Congress Committee, Dr. A. G. Tendulkar has sent a telegram to the President of the Indian National Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel stating that the Goa Congress Committee adheres to the principle of territorial integrity of India and requests Congress recognition in the forthcoming constitution of the right of the people of Goa, Daman and Diu for self-determination and their desire for re-union with the mother country.

Translation of the printed Leaflet " QUIT GOA " published by the Goa Congress Committee, Bombay.

Resolution passed by the Goa Congress Committee during its general meeting on 3rd March 1946.

" Although Goa has no further support except India because Goa is only a point on the map of India, even then you cannot forget that Goa is bound to Portuguese Imperialism by chains of physical bondage and separating us from our Indian brethren by that foreign Portuguese Government, a government that is small headed, without conscience and that is ready to hold our hearts for its own needs. This wicked Raj that has gone on for 436 years has made us forget our own consciousness and our past history.

This bad fortune of ours has now to be thrown off far. Looking at the whole of India we should make efforts to free our motherland from foreign domination and we Goans should go forward in this task and to march henceforth hand in hand with our Indian brothers and to free our motherland Goa from the Shackles of slavery and that of the whole of India, for unless we achieve freedom we cannot have any improvement in our land.

So we say to the Portuguese Government " Quit India—Quit Goa, Damaun and Diu" and give into our hands the administration of Government.

Goa Congress Committee prays to all our brethren in India as well as outside India to give all possible support in this most important task."

No. 17/P. of 1946.

Dated the 29th April, 1946.

To

The Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform that for about fifteen days a number of pamphlets were secretly distributed in Portuguese India. A sample of same is enclosed.

It has been found out that these were published by Sjt. Massillon Almeida, General Secretary, Goa Congress Committee, and printed in Gomantak Press, Bombay-4.

Enquiry is being made locally and it has been ascertained that Massillon Almeida is of Assolna, Portuguese India, and is residing in Bombay.

It is requested to enquire and inform me whether the pamphlets were printed in the Gomantak Press, and who is the author of these pamphlets.

Thanking you,

Nova Goa.

DANIAL FERNANDES AGUJAR,

Major,

Commandant of Police,

Special Branch (I) C.I.D,

Bombay, the 25th May 1946.

Secret

No. 3150/H

To

The Commandant of Police,
NOVA GOA.

Reference your letter No. 17-A/P, dated the 29th April 1946.

About 2,500 leaflets, identical with the one forwarded with your letter under reference, were printed at the Gomantak Press, Bombay, in four languages *viz.*, Konkani, Marathi, English and Portuguese on 4th April 1946 and published by Mr. Massillon Almeida, General Secretary of the Goa Committee, 35 Hamam Street, Fort, Bombay. He resides at 379. Thakurdwar Road, Bombay.

The leaflet contains the text of a resolution moved by Dr. A. G. Tendulkar, President of the Goa Congress Committee, seconded by Mr. Almela, General Secretary of the Committee and passed unanimously at the General meeting attended by over 300 members of the Committee on the 3rd March 1946.

O.C.D.C.P., S.B. (I) C.I.D.

Goa Congress Secretary Arrested

Bombay, July 16, (A.P.), Mr., Tristao Braganza Cunha, General Secretary of the Goa Congress Committee, has been arrested and detained in Margao according to information received in Bombay.

A warrant for arrest of Mr. Massillon Almeida, General Secretary of the Goa Congress Committee in Bombay, has been issued and a suit filed against him in a Goa Court.

Arrested Goa Congress Leaders, taken to Agoada Fort

Tristao Braganza Cunha, founder of the Goa Congress Committee who was arrested at Margao, on July 12 by the Colonial Administration of the Portuguese Government, has been, it is reported taken to the Military Fort at Agoada, where he is kept in detention. It is also reported that he will be tried by Court Martial.

The Goans are agitating for the public trial of Mr. Cunha with opportunities for defence.

Goan Resistance Movement

By : A Friend of Goa

Some of the reports published in the press about the developments of the Goan resistance movement recently appear to me to be harmful to the interests of the Goan people who are trying to vindicate civil liberties.

The impression given that the movement is carried on by a group of agitators in Bombay or any members of the Indian National Congress is not only false but misleading and indirectly strengthens the hands of the Portuguese authorities in their drive to put down the Goan people's movement.

Background of struggle

Similarly, collection of money and volunteers is uncalled for. As far as I am aware there are about two dozen committees formed throughout the different villages in Goa to organize the struggle which is directed by Goans themselves without any outside help. I am not at liberty to disclose the names of the persons connected with the organization. But they are not the persons who are publicised in your reports.

The struggle in Goa has a social background. The misery of the people has been growing with unchecked and criminal operations, of the black market, profiteers and other social parasites and the struggle that is developing is a spontaneous expression of this mass misery. The power behind the police is the power of these criminal elements who appear to have promised every help to the Government for putting down the Congress "topiwallahs". The agents of certain sectarian interests are also active and are trying to create confusion.

Karnatak Regionalism in the Press

Some of the reports I have seen published indicate that some persons from Kanara are trying to bolster up the claims of Goa's identity with the cultural interests of Kannada and, in one case, the authority of the Karnatak Congress Committee is publicised. I would draw the attention of the Congress authorities to this misuse of the Congress sanction as the Indian National Congress has not extended any official support to any individual claiming to collaborate with the Goan resistance movement.

Some of the Bombay agitators are reported to have made a spectacular departure for Goa for leading the resistance movement. But they travelled to Goa under false names and returned back without doing anything. Reports are circulated of false arrests and warrants and the Portuguese Government requisitioning Negro troops. Inquiries show that the Portuguese Government has not imported their levels from Africa. They have been raising a combative force composed exclusively of Portuguese and "mestico" ranks.

Its Non-violent

The 'mesticos' are the Portuguese Anglo-Indians and have been maintained by Government through payment of allowance formerly out of the Goa lottery funds. The police are no doubt beating up persons marked and suspected of participation in the resistance movement. The beatings are likely to provoke retaliation amongst the Goan masses not all of whom are emasculated. If the movement spreads to Sattari and Sakhali, homelands of the warrior Maratha clan of the Ranes, it would be impossible to maintain non-violence which is essential for tactical purposes at this stage. The beatings no doubt inflame the people and the committees functioning in the villages are utilizing them.

But the danger of the fifth column is much greater in Goa as well as in Bombay. The Government has always distributed large funds amongst the various groups of Goans living in Bombay and I am not surprised that some of the leaders of the Satyagraha movement have had connection with organizations receiving subsidies from the Portuguese propaganda organizations. There is the danger of the agents *provocateurs*, also in Goa and the leaders of the movement are taking precaution against it.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 22nd July 1946.

Jai Goa—

Sir, stirring things, unheard of and undreamt even in the wildest of wild imaginations are taking place in that land of lotus-eaters-Goa. This sleepy nollow has it seems at last wakened up to the joyous strains of freedom's battle and is girding up its loins to join the struggle for freedom from foreign yoke.

The cup of Portuguese autocracy has been now filling up for a very long time and was waiting for just that last drop which would make it overflow. Suppression of all civil liberty, ruthless censorship of a most wanton type, oppression of a helpless, ignorant and an inoffensive religion-ridden people, country a hundred years behind times, with absolutely no industry at all, people entirely dependent on the hard earned remittances of those emigrants toiling in foreign lands, such is the pitiable and underdrawn picture of the state of Goa today.

But this petty fascist administration has been propped up and supported by the benign and omnipresent "ma-bap" British and under its aegis the Portuguese were able to mismanage and misrule, and denationalise the Goans just as has been happening in the Indian States.

But the Moving Hand has written the finis to the Portuguese rule and sooner it is realised the better for them.

A. F. D'SOUZA,

Free Press Journal, dated 23rd July 1946

Negro Troops go into action in Goa

Several Arrests Reported. Bombay, Monday.

Following the arrest of Mr. Tristao Braganza Cunha, the Goa authorities have arrested a number of other Congress workers from different parts of Goa.

Mr. Bascar Bandare has been arrested and detained in Panjim. In trying to disperse processions in Margao on July 18, the Government arrested nine people and made use of African Negro Troops, according to the information received from the Secretary of the Goa Congress Committee.

Some arrests in Ponda and Bicholim have also been reported.

Free Press Journal, Dated 23rd July 1946

Bombay, Monday.

The Congress Legal Defence Committee is taking steps to provide necessary defence facilities to Mr. Tristao da Braganza Cunha, President of the Goa Congress Committee, who is to be tried in the Military Prison of Aguada.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 23rd July 1946

B.P.C.C. defence facilities for Goa Congress Chief, Bombay, Monday

The legal Defence Committee of the B.P.C.C. is taking steps for the provision of defence facilities to Mr. Tristao Braganza Cunha, President of the Goa Congress Committee who is at present under arrest and will be shortly tried in a military court.

Free Press Journal, dated 22nd July 1946

Bombay Congress asked to help Goan struggle

Nehru Condemns Portuguese Fascism.

New Delhi, July 20.

" Goa is as much a part of India as any other part and the Freedom of India inevitably includes the freedom of the people of Goa ", says Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President in a statement to the Press on the recent events in Goa.

Pandit Nehru says " Goa cannot be separated from India and so any struggle for freedom there, becomes part of our own struggle. But whatever struggle there may be, it is wholly unbecoming for the Portuguese authorities in Goa to use the methods they have adopted. In particular the trial by Martial Law of the well-known citizen and public worker of Goa Mr. Cunha for his standing for civil liberties is something that is peculiarly bad. I understand he is not even given sufficient time to prepare for his defence.".

Pandit Nehru hopes that not only the plenty of Goans in Bombay but also the Congress organisation in Bombay will give such assistance they can in helping by way of defence or otherwise those who are carrying on the struggle in Goa.

Following is the text of the statement : —

In the midst of formidable problems which face India, little Goa offers its own problems. But because Goa is an enclave on the west coast of India we may not ignore or forget it. Wherever human liberty and human suffering are involved, the problem is not a little one. Wherever people struggle for freedom and against repression they enact a drama which is always full of vital interest to lovers of liberty all over the world. Goa also raises international issues which are bound to come to the forefront in the near future.

OLD ASSOCIATE

Eighteen years ago a Congress Committee was started in Goa by Mr. Tristao Braganza Cunha and for some years he was a member of the All-India Congress Committee. Later under the constitution of the Congress such foreign committees were not affiliated. I remember those days of association with Mr. Cunha, today he lies in some Portuguese prison waiting to be tried by a Court Martial Law which was proclaimed in Goa and Mr. Cunha is no soldier.

In Goa for a vast span of years there has been no shadow of civil liberty. No meetings can be held and nothing can be printed, not even a wedding card, without police permission. A month ago Dr. Lohia broke this ban and addressed a meeting.

NEW AWAKENING

Since then, the people of Goa have woken up from their slumber and have repeatedly tried to hold peaceful meetings. The Portuguese Administration are trying to suppress this popular movement with methods of cruelty after the Fascist pattern. The present struggle is one for civil liberties. I should like to tell the people of Goa how all sympathise with them in this struggle and how we are following it with anxious interest.

For us, Goa is as much a part of India as any other part and the freedom of India inevitably includes the freedom of the people of Goa. Goa cannot be separated, freedom there becomes part of our own struggle.

But whatever struggle there may be it is wholly unbecoming for the Portuguese authorities in Goa to use the methods they have adopted. In particular, the trial by Martial Law of a well-known citizen and public worker of Goa for his standing for civil liberties is something that is peculiarly bad. I understand that he is not even given sufficient time to prepare for his defence.

There are plenty of Goans in Bombay and I hope that not only they but the Congress organisation in Bombay will give such assistances they can in helping by way of defence or otherwise those who are carrying on the struggle in Goa. To the people of Goa I send my greetings and good wishes—A.P.

Times of India, dated 24th July 1946

Portuguese policy in Goa.

Assurance To Mr. Gandhi

From Our Own Correspondent.

Nova Goa, July 23 : The Governor-General of Portuguese India, Dr. Bossa, has sent a long letter to Mr. Gandhi, clearing his statement about Portuguese administration and saying that foreign intervention in the political affairs in Goa, which is Portuguese, are considered anti-juridical.

Dr. Bossa says the Portuguese did not come to Goa with the objectives of subjection and economic exploitation, but came guided by the High ideal of fraternity. " Honest Goans recognize gratefully the benefits of Portugal's policy and only anarchists reveal ignorance.".

Concluding, the Governor-General assures Mr. Gandhi that civil liberties of the people of Goa are not menaced, " but these are threatened by agitators wishing to divert poor class people from their peaceful avocations.".

SPECIAL STATEMENT

Panchgani : A special statement regarding the Goa satyagraha movement is likely to be issued by Mr. Gandhi shortly. Dr. A. G. Tendulkar, president of Goa Congress Committee, had an interview with Mr. Gandhi this afternoon and he submitted a written report on the satyagraha movement and acquainted him with the views of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel.

Mr. Gandhi is likely to leave next Sunday for Poona where he will attend two conferences—the Education Ministers' Conference and Village Industries Ministers' Conference to be held on July 30 and 31.

Mr. Gandhi's prayer this evening was attended by the Superintendent and Members of Polish Displaced Persons' Camp. A lady from the camp expressed gratefulness for India's hospitality to homeless Poles and requested Mr. Gandhi to pray for Poland's freedom. Mr. Gandhi said that he always prayed for everyone's freedom. He was sorry for their plight, and he has already written about them in his papers.—A.P.I.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 25th July 1946

Let Goans fight for Civil Liberties first

Swaraj should be the next step, Advises Gandhiji.

Appeal To Different Parties To Unite Against Loyalists.

Panchgani, July 24 (A.P.I.) : " If the Goa Satyagraha movement is to succeed it should be conducted by Gomantakas on the clearest possible issue, that is, civil liberty ; the larger question of Swaraj should await its attainment by the whole of India unless, of course, the Portuguese Government wisely come to terms with the inhabitants of the settlement through friendly negotiations", observes Mahatma Gandhi in a statement issued today on the Goa Satyagraha movement.

Goans Novices In Art of Real Politics.

Mahatma Gandhi in a statement says : "

Doctor A. G. Tendulkar, President, Goa Congress Committee, is the last one from Goa who has come to me with the latest news from the place. He tells me that there are several parties there working not necessarily for its inhabitants but for power. Yet at bottom the fight is good. He has produced voluminous papers in support of the statement that confusion reigns supreme in the minds of Goans correctly described as Gomantakas. This confusion is bad in that the inhabitants of this Portuguese possession are novices in the art of real politics. Its separate existence it is clear can only depend on the goodwill of the mighty British Government and the impotence of its Indian residents. It is, therefore, most essential for the success of the movement that it should be conducted by Gomantakas on the clearest possible issue, that is civil liberty. The larger question of Swaraj should await its attainment by the whole of India, unless of course, the Portuguese Government wisely come to terms with the inhabitants of the settlement, through friendly negotiations.

CONCENTRATE ON CIVIL LIBERTY

" It cannot be attained by any direct action of the citizens, whether Violent or non-violent. In non-violent action, success is assured where every inhabitant is a hero ready to lay down his or her life. It is less to be thought of in Goa than in the more numerous and the better-seasoned and awakened British India. Therefore the clearest possible issue of civil liberty must be kept steadily in view.

" The second condition of success is that the fight must be through nonviolent and therefore also entirely by open means.

" Thirdly, there should be no parties struggling for attaining power and position. Where the goal and the means are common, different parties have no meaning.

CURB LOYALISTS

" On reading the literature I find two such persons called Loyalists, who have already made slavish declarations saying that nothing is wrong in Goa and that false agitation is being carried on by some mischievous persons. Let not the circle of these Loyalists grow larger. The best way to avoid this growth is for all parties to become one. "

Goan students to face Rustification

Retaliatory Action Against Those Taking Part in Politics

Bombay, Wednesday (A.P.I.): The heads of educational institutions in Goa have been ordered to rusticate for one year any student who takes part in the political agitation according to information received here by the Goa Congress Committee. Some of the teachers have already been dismissed.

Mr. Baskar Bandare, who was arrested at Panjim on July 18, has now been transferred to Aguada Fort. He is to be tried for sedition by a Military Court.

Among others who are being detained by the police is a boy of 15 who was arrested when he refused to surrender to the police a Tricolour Flag which he was carrying.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 26th July 1946

Satyagraha in Goa

More Lathi Charges And Arrests
(From A Correspondent)

The Civil Liberty Movement in Goa is spreading like a wild fire. Up to now the northern part had not been affected, but the latest news published in the " Gomantak Congress Patrika" indicates that even this part has now come under its way.

In Mapuca on the 18th evening, a large procession started from the market place. Mr. Dhond was carrying the Tricolour flag in the fore-front. When the procession reached the Government Primary School the armed police force tried to disperse the people with a mild lathi charge and snatch the National flag from the hands of Mr. Dhond but in vain. Mr. Dhond was arrested and taken to the police station. A large crowd gathered outside the police station and shouted national slogans. The police enraged by now resorted to a violent lathi charge. Many were severely hurt. Several others were arrested among whom are : Messrs. Prabhakar K. Dalal, Manohar D. Savker and Mukund K. Ghanekar.

On the following day all those who had been arrested were removed to Panjim jail. A complete *hartal* was observed on that day in Mapuca and all other villages of Bardez. People in order to condemn the police excesses attempted to hold a meeting, but they were dispersed by the police. The Administrator of the city has however promised to place their grievances and demands before the Governor. It is understood that an additional police force has been brought from Panjim.

Similar meetings also took place in Phonda and Mardol. At Mardol several arrests were made. Among those arrested, Mr. Upendra V. Palaulicar, Mr. Velinkar and Upendra R. Kelkar have been sent to Panjim Jail.

Free Press Journal, dated 26th July 1946

Police Brutality Mounting High

Goa Struggle Takes a serious turn, Bombay, Thursday.

The Satyagraha movement in Goa has now taken a serious turn and the Government authorities have taken up to brutal attacks on unarmed people. The movement is going according to strict principle of non-violence, as advised by Mahatma Gandhi. All provocations on the part of Government officials to misdirect the movement have proved futile.

Police brutality reached its height when girls who were leading a procession in Margao on July 21st were attacked. The police commander tried to snatch the tri-colour flag from Miss Lalita Kantak, and on her refusal to hand it over the commander gave her a slap and snatched it away from her. Several other girls including Miss Shreemathi Krishna Hegde and her sister Miss Vitha K. Hegde were also assaulted. Mr. V. B. Naik and Mr. Krishan Lotliker were maltreated by the police and arrested later on. Mr. Naik in particular carried several bayonet cuts. Arrested persons were released at night.

The Bharat Jyoti, dated 29th July 1946

Warships cannot frighten Goans

The Struggle will go on, Bombay, Saturday

Dr. A. G. Tendulkar, President, Goa Congress Committee, has issued a statement in which he says :

Portugal's reply to our struggle for civil liberty is already here. A Military Court Martial has sentenced our leader, Mr. Tristao Braganza Cunha to deportation for eight years and a Portuguese warship is on its way to Goa to meet the situation there.

This reply offers us no surprise. Nor is it likely to deter us from relentlessly pursuing our set objective. This objective of gaining elementary civil liberty has been outlined and clearly stated by Gandhiji in his statement of July 24.

MISREPRESENTATION

Signor Doctor Bossa, Governor-General of Goa, has in his letter to Gandhiji characterised our struggle as an anarchical agitation. His Excellency ought to know better. Foundations of this struggle were laid down as early as 1928 when Mr. Braganza Cunha founded the Goa Congress Committee and it received a concrete shape in the manifesto of March 24, 1946, signed by 38 representatives and distinguished leaders of public opinion in Goa. Although Dr. Lohia's defiance of ban on June 18 has been unconnected with our struggle, we have welcomed it. We do not look upon Mr. Lohia as a foreigner. No Indian is a foreigner on Indian soil.

Our struggle is based strictly upon non-violent and absolutely open methods. The strength we pit against warships and Negro troops is that of voluntary and self-imposed suffering regardless of consequences. The main issue of our struggle and the methods by which we desire to succeed in it are entirely on a moral plane. Warships and African troops will avail Goa government as little as the mighty strength of the British Government availed them in India in Bardoli Satyagraha.

MOVEMENT IN GOA IS SPONTANEOUS

Mr. Cunha's Statement

Mr. Tristao Braganza Cunha, President of the Goa Congress Committee, prior to his being convicted and sentenced to eight years' transportation, made a statement in the court at Panjim declaring that the civil resistance movement in Goa was spontaneous.

According to a message received in Bombay, Mr. Cunha declared, "I am accused of having directed the civil disobedience movement but I cannot take such credit for it nor any one else.

" This movement is not yet organised and is a movement of the masses without proper direction. From its start, you can see it was spontaneous. If anybody is the cause of the movement, it is the Portuguese administration which by its economic mismanagement during recent years has caused intense economic discontent among the people. That is the cause of the movement.

" Most of the people perhaps do not even know that this movement is for civil liberties. For them, this is a manifestation of their discontent resulting from hunger, unemployment and the attendant hardships."

Bombay Chronicle, dated 27 th July 1946.

Warship To Cope With Goa Resistance.

Portuguese Minister's statement at Lisbon

Popular Leader Sentenced To 8 Years' Transportation.

From a Correspondent Margao, July 24.

Mr. Tristao Braganza de Cunha who was tried by court-martial here today was found guilty of sedition and was sentenced to transportation for 8 years. It is stated that Mr. Cunha might be deported to some Portuguese Colony of Government choice, where he will undergo his sentence.

Mr. Cunha in a statement to the court denied the charges preferred against him and pleaded not guilty. He demanded justice and nothing but justice.

The Special Military Tribunal which tried Mr. Cunha was composed of Cap. Almicar Coelho, Bar. Abrelo Lobo and Lt. Chavico. Cap. Mario Santos conducted the prosecution. The trial was open and there was a huge crowd drawn from all over Goa.

In the beginning court read out the charges and the summary of the speech delivered by Mr. Cunha at Margao on 20th of June. Bar. Telles who appeared for the defence raised a point of objection and said that the tribunal had no power to judge Mr. Cunha. But the court ruled out the point.

Mr. Baskar Bandare is awaiting his trial on 29th. He will also be tried by the court martial.

PORtUGUESE WARSHIP FOR GOA

Lisbon, July, 26 (Reuter) : The Portuguese Minister for Colonies said last night that the Portuguese Government is sending a warship to Goa in Portuguese India, where a passive resistance movement by the Goa Congress Committee began over a month ago.

The Minister added that the statement that Portuguese authorities in Goa were using African Negro troops to put down the resistance movement was " exaggerated."

" One company of Negro troops numbering 120 men from Lourenco Marques in Mozambique (Portuguese East Africa) were normally stationed in Goa ", the Minister declared. He said that Portuguese troops would not be sent to Goa yet.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S REPLY TO GANDHIJI

Margao (Gao) July 24, (API); " In my official capacity and on the responsibility of my legal profession, I assure you that the civil liberties of Goan people are not threatened ", says Dr. Joss Ferreira Bossa, Governor General of Portuguese India, in the course of a letter to Mahatma Gandhi replying to the latter's recent statement on Goa. The Governor General adds : "I know of no political leader besides the dictators whom the conscience of Nations have condemned, who was ever interfered in the internal life of another sovereign nation in this manner."

The Governor alludes to Mahatma Gandhi's knowledge of law and says that he himself belongs to the magistracy in his country and therefore, cannot ignore or deny the civil rights of the people in his charge. He is certain from Mahatma Gandhi's remarks that Mahatma Gandhi does not know either the history or the character of the Portuguese people.

LOFTY IDEAL

" The Portuguese did not come to India " observes Dr. Bossa. " merely for the purpose of domination or economic exploitation which do not exist but were guided by the lofty ideal of brotherhood and therefore, always considered the Indians as brothers and never as subjects."

" Ever since the distant days of Albuquerque the Portuguese have tried selflessly to free the Indians from the oppressive and iniquitous caste system which in your own opinion is a stain on Indian civilisation and they have succeeded in this."

" The Governor General expresses surprise, at Mahatma Gandhi's reported support to the recent anarchical agitations " and his uncritical acceptance of Dr. Lohia's version of these agitations and asks " what moral or legal right has a stranger like Dr. Lohia to come and disturb this peaceful people taking advantage of their hospitality ? " Is there in any country in the world any principle of civil liberty which allows political agitators to exploit the credulity of humble folk by distorting facts and destroy real freedom they enjoy ?"

UNWORKABLE UTOPIA

The Governor General goes on to say that absolute freedom is an unworkable Utopia and adds that the existence of a benevolent educative un-sectarian censorship does not necessarily imply less freedom than certain other forms of greater interference by the State which can be found in so called most democratic countries. Fixing of prices by Government for instance is done by the Indian Government is unknown in his country except for one or two essential commodities says Dr. Bossa and asks " what then about freedom of commerce ?"

The Governor General in conclusion assures Mahatma Gandhi that the liberties of the Goan people are not threatened except by those agitators who through bribe or compulsion attempt to mislead the poorer classes from a life of peaceful labour.

Free Press Journal, dated 27th July 1946

Quit Goa Next

It is reported Sri Tristao Braganza De Cunha is going to be summarily tried by a Military Tribunal. This is the first time that a civilian is being tried by a Military Court, a procedure that is without a precedent in history. The Goa Governor-General and his stooges hope by the application of jungle law to crush the surging spirit of nationalism which is today sweeping over this erstwhile smug island. Only capitalists are applauding such repressive actions of the Portuguese Government. The general public do want the Portuguese to quit Goa. It would be wise for the Lisbon Government to quit Goa in time with good grace as its days of ruling this part of India are drawing to a close.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 30th July 1946 and Free Press Journal dated 30th July 1946.

Goa warrants of arrest against 11 Congressmen

Bombay, July 29 (A. P. I.); Goa authorities have issued warrants of arrest against eleven Congress workers connected with the struggle for civil liberties in Goa.

Amongst them are Miss Vatsala Kirtane, Mr. Sanches De Souza, Dr. B. Sunkhtanker, Laxmanrao Sardesai and Balkrishna Borkar.

At a public meeting in Belgaum held under the presidentship of ex-Finance Minister of Bombay, Mr. A. B. Latthe, a resolution was passed expressing sympathy with Goans in their struggle for civil liberties.

The resolution expressed the hope that the struggle would be carried on strictly on non-violent lines as advised by Gandhiji and that Goa would present an United Front.

REPLY TO GOVERNOR

Dr. A. G. Tendulkar, the President of the Goa Congress Committee has issued a statement in which he says :

"Portugal's reply to our struggle for civil Liberties is already there. A Military Court Martial has sentenced our leader Tristao Braganza Cunha to a deportation of 8 years on the 24th July and a Portuguese Warship is on way to Goa to cope with the situation there.

" This reply offers us no surprise. Nor is it likely to deter us from pursuing relentlessly our set objective. This objective of gaining elementary civil liberties has been outlined and clearly stated by Gandhiji in his statement of the 24th July.

" Signor Doctor Bossa, the Governor-General of Goa, has in his letter of Gandhiji, characterised our struggle as anarchical agitation. His Excellency ought to know better. Foundations of this struggle were laid down as long ago as 1928 when Tristao Braganza Cunha founded the Goa Congress Committee and it received a concrete shape in the manifesto of 24th March 1946 which was signed by some 38 representatives and distinguished leaders of public opinion in Goa, none of whom is a foreigner. Although Dr. Lohia's defiance of the ban on the 18th June has been unconnected with our struggle we have welcomed it. We did not look upon Dr. Lohia as a foreigner. No Indian is a foreigner on Indian soil.

JUST MEANS

" Our struggle is based strictly upon non-violent and absolutely open methods. The strength we pit against warships and Negro troops is that of voluntary and self-imposed self-suffering regardless of consequences. The main issue of our struggle and the methods by which we desire to achieve it are on entirely a moral plane and we remain assured of ultimate success as long as we do not deviate from our path. Warships and African troops will avail the Goa Government as little as the mighty strength of the British Government availed them in India in the Bardoli Satyagraha.

" 24th of July will pass in our history as the Red-letter day of our struggle. Eight years deportation for having asserted a demand of Civil liberties provides strange commentary on His Excellency Doctor Bossa's lofty dealism."

Times of India, dated 3rd August 1946

Readers views situation in Goa

To the Editor, *The Times of India*

Sir, I have read with surprise a number of statements in Bombay newspapers about recent political events in Goa. These statements are misleading and likely to present the situation in a wrong light. Although Tabhor politics and politicians alike as a silent witness to these events I feel in duty bound, as a Portuguese citizen born and bred in Goa to shed some light on the *affaire Lohia*.

The political atmosphere in Goa was disturbed by Dr. Lohia's arrest, which was both orderly and legal. Since then a irresponsible section of Hindu youth (which otherwise enjoys the same rights as the Portuguese) has indulged in public processions, meetings and the like. If this were the outcome of the arrest, it should have ended with Dr. Lohia's release from jail. But it has not been so. Now processionists disturb the peaceful life of the inhabitants of Goa who are puzzled at this insane outburst of political excitement.

It seems that those indulging in anti-Government actions have spread the news that they are no longer protesting at Dr. Lohia's arrest, but are fighting for civil liberties. If this were the case, the whole situation would be cleared if they informed the authorities of their wish to gather publicity for political purposes. This procedure is not alien. I believe, the British law and often processionists going through the streets of Bombay are not allowed to pass through certain areas. The same applies here. It is therefore plain that the aim is not publicity but to disobey orders from the Commissioner of Police.

As regards independence, Dr. Lohia and Mr. Gandhi are certainly wrong when they think that we are living in a regime of terror and that we have not enjoyed freedom of speech and platform for nearly two centuries. That Mr. Gandhi should so blindly express his views is really unfortunate.

We are not oppressed by a Gestapo ; we are not puppets at the mercy of Government. The proof lies in the fact that the whole situation has been reviewed in the press by both sides. As for independence, who demands it ? In what form ? Where are the leaders ? It should be pointed out that independence is not only impracticable at this state, but were it to come centuries hence, it could have nothing in common with the Congress movement in British India.

Here in Goa, everything is totally different from British India : tradition, laws, culture and the environment on which weigh centuries of Portuguese influence. This influence does exist and has created a civilisation poles apart from that in British India. We are a national cell with our own characteristics, and we shall have to mould our own destinies. These I believe, cannot be alienated from those of Portugal for the reasons stated above. The "infamous laws," to which Dr. Lohia has referred gave him even in jail the best hospitality and comfort.

R. S. FONTES.

Nova-Goa, July 24.

Times of India, dated 5th August 1946

Goa situation

To the Editor, the Times of India.

Sir, the latest political events in Goa have been exaggerated in Bombay. For this task credit is no doubt due to a very limited number of agitators who took upon themselves the self-imposed mission of disposing of Goa like chattels. This they did with no regard to the common feeling of the country which is decidedly opposed to any disturbing change. The general view is, as I have personally ascertained, that Goa's destiny can only depend on the successful exercise of the rights of independence of India with which ideal every Goan heartily sympathises. But until and unless that ideal becomes a reality no coercion to drag the Goan into the melting pot will well appeal to him.

The clear impressions I gathered in Goa are that unless India comes into her own with order and peace, unless riots, strikes, police tiring, bloodshed communal strife and sabotage cease and her constitution takes shape the Goan will be deterred from moving from his present position.

No amount of propaganda emanating from a few Socialists, working ostensibly under the banner of Congress, and calculated to mislead the Indian public, will be productive of any good.

Hindus and Christians have all along lived together most amicably. Now, who is responsible for desecrating the old Christian monuments erected in Goa for the Martyrs of Cuncolim, an outrage that has taken place since the so-called nationalist movement began in Goa ? Whose are the anonymous pamphlets published in Bombay and attacking the Christian religion and the very memory of St. Xavier ? Who set a Government Office on fire in Goa ? The methods of this sort of nationalism are decidedly crude.

Mr. Gandhi would certainly be wiser to withhold advice about resorting to *satyagraha* in Goa. The aims and constitution of the Goa Congress are hardly known to the average Goan. When approached to play the role of *satyagrahi* the probable answer from Goa Congress members will be "you do the fighting and we will do the shouting."

During my recent trip to Goa I contacted people of all grades of society, collective bodies and officials, including the Governor and the Member of Parliament representing Goa in Lisbon. The sum total of it is that some innocent people and school-children are being misguided.

While fully sympathising with the aspirations of British India. Goa does not wish to be dragged into chaos. The poor people have suffered with patience the privations imposed by the war and are averse to further trouble in their own country.

They have many grievances against their own Government, but they feel quite confident that they will be redressed by statesman of high vision on the spot determined to move with the times and to carry out a big programme of reforms.

Dr. Bossa, who is a Doctor of Law and was a Cabinet Minister, is the first civilian Governor to be appointed for very many years to Goa. With order and peace, for which he is responsible, he could be relied upon to go forward with a very liberal programme, given due time. The very first step taken by his administration has been to stop the Colonial Office interference with the country's budget. He has displayed a keen personal interest in the crisis over food and other commodities for which a most influential committee of leading people has been appointed.

JOTSETH.

Bombay, August 1.

Goans public meeting.

Bombay City, S. B. (I), August 5th : —

About 500 Goans held a public meeting under the joint auspices of the Goa Congress Committee, the Goan Youth League and the Nationalist Christians Party at the Instituto Luso Indiano Hall, Girgaum, on August 3rd, to protest against the conviction and sentenced passed on Mr. T. B. Cunha, Mr. M. Y. Nurie presided.

Dr. Jos Alban De Souza, Dr. A. G. Tendulkar, Mrs. Indumati Tendulkar, Mrs. Violet Alva, Mr. Joachim Dias and Mr. M. Y. Nurie, made speeches protesting against the alleged high-handedness of the Portuguese Government in deporting Mr. T. B. Cunha for a period of 8 years.

Mr. Nurie said that it was the primary duty of the leaders to dispel fear and infuse political consciousness amongst the common people of Goa. Goan leaders should make it a part of their programme to wean the people away from the political influence of the Catholic Church.

During the meeting some of the audience smashed three or four photo-frames which exhibited the portraits of high Portuguese Officers and also tore off a Portuguese Fiat. On the intervention of the Secretary, who advised the people to behave themselves, order was restored and the meeting passed off peacefully.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 6th August 1946.

Commotion at City Goan Meeting

Bombay, Monday.

Saturday evening's meeting at the Indo Lusitano Institute Hall, was the scene of some commotion. When the meeting drew to a close stones came flying from all sides, and portraits of President Carmona of the Portuguese Republic and Dictator Salazar were smashed.

Direct and indirect attacks were made by some of the speakers against Bombay's 70 years old ex-Mayor Dr. Jos Alban D'Souza, who was seen on the occasion in spotless *khaddar*.

The Doctor referred to Mahatma' Gandhi in support of his views and said that the Portuguese Government did allow free expression of opinion at public meetings and the permission required to convene them was old - formality. He had met Dr. Bossa the Governor of Goa, and the Governor struck him as a reasonable and good man.

Mr. Joachim Dias, President, Goan Youth League, made a vehement attack on the views expressed by Dr. D'Souza. Dr. Alban, he said, was interpreting Gandhiji's views incorrectly. In an interview which Mr. Dias had with the Mahatma, Mahatma Gandhi had said " You should have every right to call peaceful meetings without giving notice to Government. No self respecting person can tolerate any hindrance to his doing what is morally just. We are free men. Hence you should hold meetings without any notice."

The meeting was convened by the Goa Congress Committee, to explain to Goans the present struggle in Goa, and to protest against the arrest of Tristao Braganza da Cunha.

Mr. M. Y. Nurie presided for sometime, and Dr. Tendulkar later. The speakers were Nurie, Dr. Tendulkar, Dr. Alban D'Souza, Mr. and Mrs. Joachim Alva, Mr. Joachim Dias, Mr. J. P. Lobo and others.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 13th August 1946.

A procession of more than 5,000 Goans paraded the streets of the city on Monday as a protest against the passing of the sentence of eight years deportation against Mr. Tristao Braganza Cunha, leader of the Goa Movement by a Government Court Martial. After holding a meeting at the Azad Maidan, the processionists went to the Portuguese Consulate calling upon the Consul, who is a Goan, to resign for the " Self respect of Goa ".

Goans Organise Mass Demonstrations

March in Batches and Shout Slogans before Portuguese Consulate.

Bombay, August 12 : Hundreds of Goans residing in Bombay went in batches to the Portuguese Consulate at Cuffe Parade today and demonstrated their resentment at the conviction of Mr. Tristao Braganza da Cunha.

Cries like " Smash up Aguada Fort" " Quit Goa", " Free Goa in a free India ", and " Jai Hind " resounded round about the Consulate for a long time. Similar, demonstrations were witnessed yesterday, when a batch of Goan Youths drove to the Consulate in a lorry, and waved flags and placards and asked the Portuguese Vice-Consulate a Goan, to resign " for the self-respect of Goans ".

Prior to the demonstrations, more than five thousand Goans passed in a procession in predominantly Goan localities, reached the Esplanade Maidan, where a mass meeting was held. The procession was organised by the Goan Youth League, and both the Youth League and the National Congress flags were fluttering together.

At the meeting Mr. Joachim Dias, President of the Goan Youth League, explained to the gathering the significance of Gandhiji's reply to Dr. Bossa, Governor-General of Goa, and the resolution of the Congress Working Committee asking the UNO not to permit membership to Fascist Portugal.

Other speakers at the meetings said that this was the first procession in the history of local Goans and showed that the upsurge of the masses all over India had its effects on the Goans also who had been accused of political lethargy for long.

But for the support given by the British, they said Goa would have broken from Portuguese shackles long ago, for among the European powers Portugal had the reputation of being the least advanced. " Goa Congress Not Representative. "

The following statement is issued by the Head of the Government Information Bureau, Nova Goa :—

" News has appeared in the Bombay press, particularly in the " Times of India ", that at a meeting in the Institute Luso-Indiano, convoked by the so-called Goa Congress Committee a number of persons, perhaps anarchic element's evaded from Goa, indulged in acts which public opinion will certainly most emphatically condemn. The act of smashing the photograph of Dr. Salazar gives no credit either to the Congress Committee nor to those who claim to be defenders of democracy and civil rights, and it is conclusive that the minority who started the recent movement in Goa and are now spreading false rumours in British India have in view not the attainment of civil rights,-which have never ceased to exist but the creation of disorder and lawlessness.

In the second place, nobody in Goa knows either the character of the said Congress Committee or of its organizers, but it suffices to say that it is not a representative body of the Goan people to style itself as the " Goa Congress" which sounds absolutely absurd. Furthermore, the Goan people have not given power of attorney to those who call themselves the leaders of the Goan people.

Referring to the sentence of eight years passed on Mr. T. B. Cunha the " *Times of India* " said that it was a heavy one for a breach of legal technicality. Considering that in face of the Portuguese law this was the minimum, there was no other alternative.

Mr. Baskar Bandare, who was tried yesterday, the 7th August under a different category, was for instance, sentenced to a fine of less than a thousand rupees and nothing else.

The propaganda carried out by the Goa Congress Committee in Bombay is therefore, maliciously intended to spread false news and rumours with the result that Goans abroad will have a wrong impression and a perverted idea of the situation in Goa which is now perfectly normal, it being absolutely false that any Government office was ever set on fire. These and other rumours are without any foundation.

Times of India, dated 14th August 1946.

Goa Leader's Deportation.

To,

The Editor. " The Times of India ".

Sir,

The information given in your issue of August 8, concerning the deportation of Mr. Braganza Cunha is truly fantastic and a mere propaganda stunt by a news agency correspondent.

Mr. Cunha was permitted to spend two entire days—the eve and the day of his departure—completely unguarded and the so-called armed men most probably existed only in the correspondent's dreams.

That Mr. Cunha had lost some pounds in weight may be ascribed to his disappointments, for he was fighting for the betterment of food supplied.

a thing which the Court did not believe in ; but only a beauty institute would have been in a position to notice at sight such a remarkable change in him. As far as it is known, Mr. Cunha was eating what he liked and as he liked.

As regards the place of deportation, the news agency again seems to live in dreamland for there is no confirmation that the steamer Lourenco Marques, bound for Portugal via Suez, has changed its course.

Antonio Fernandez,
Vice-Consul for Portugal,
Bombay,

Bombay, August 13.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 15th August 1946.

Goa Leader Gets Three Years

Bombay August 13 (A. P. I.) : The Court Martial appointed by the Portuguese Government in Goa to try cases in connection with the present agitation for safeguarding civil liberties in Goa has sentenced Mr. Upendra Talanlikar to three years imprisonment and to suspension of civil rights for a period of 15 years, according to information received by the Goa Congress Committee in Bombay.

LOHIA TO GO TO GOA AGAIN.

Calcutta, August 14 (A.P.I.) : Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia met a number of leading members of the Goan Community in Calcutta last evening. It is understood that he will be revisiting Goa in the middle of September.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 17th August 1946.

Goa Deputation to Sardar

Bombay, August 16 (A.P.I.) : A delegation of *satyagraha* leaders from Goa and prominent Goan Congressmen in Bombay waited upon Sandar Vallabhbhai Patel at his residence today and discussed all aspects of the Goa Satyagraha.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 24th August 1946.

Goa Government Denies Press Report

Nova Goa. August 16 (.A.P.I) ; The report that Mr. Purshottam Kakodkar who is detained in Goa is on hunger strike is denied by the Portuguese Government in Goa in a Press Note issued today.

The Press Note says that Mr. Kakodkar is given usual comforts in detention and his condition is absolutely normal.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 21st September 1946.

Alleged Police Harassment in Goa

Belgaum, September 19 : Mr. M. R. Gir, representative National Congress Goa, states on August 18 Mr. Laxmikant who defied the ban on civil liberties was arrested by the police on the spot when speaking at Lohia Maidan, Margao. The gathering anxious to hear Mr. Bhembre's speech was about three to four thousand strong. Soon before the meeting

was scheduled to be held, the police led by the Commander guarded Lohia Maidan armed with guns. None was allowed to enter the Maidan, sharply at 4-40 Mr. Bhembre appeared on the scene, when the police especially the Luso-Indians dispersed the gathering beating the people. Prof. Parabker of Margao and an old man were beaten. The police even entered the jewellers and other shops nearby and harassed the people therein when Mr. Bhembre began to read his speech not at Lohia Maidan but in the place opposite the municipal building he was arrested and taken to police station. Even a newspaper representative was not allowed to enter the Maidan. Mr. Bhembre behaved as a free Satyagrahi but the police who arrested him were pushing constantly when he himself was prepared to go to the police station. The gathering shouted slogans eulogising Mr. Bhembre who told people not to shout slogans and go home quietly.

Some time after the arrest of Mr. Bhembre, Mr. Vanktesh Veerkar from Carmona was taken to the Administration Office and the Administrator is said to have slapped him in the face. Mr. Wamanrao Desai has been arrested by the police. His office and residence were searched by the police.

Free Press Journal, dated 3rd October 1946

Freedom Movement in Goa being Suppressed—Ashok Mehta's bitter Criticism.

Bombay, Wednesday.

Indicting the Portuguese Government for the arrest of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia at Colem, Mr. Ashok Mehta, prominent Congress Socialist Leader of Bombay, said that the event showed that the alien Government had got glittery in the extreme and had started applying an ever-increasing pressure on the freedom movement in Goa. "It was significant, he said that some of the recent sentences were progressively savage in character, their run being three, six and nine years the last one being pronounced in the case of Shri Purshottam Kakodkar only a short while ago".

"It is important to understand the background to the struggle in Goa" continued Mr. Mehta " People experienced great difficulty in respect of foodgrains and other essential commodities of everyday use and they could not give expression to their said plight. The newspapers were gagged and did not exist for the practical purpose. They could not meet and discuss their intimate problems as there was a ban on meetings, speeches and assembly.

All these things were revolting to any decent-minded man and woman and the Goan people were only raising a protest against these horrible restrictions approximating to slavery itself, he said".

UNITED FRONT FORMED.

Asked about the latest phase of the movement there, Mr. Mehta declared : " The conference convened at Londa about six weeks ago has now brought into one consolidated union all the different organisations which functioned separately before and now the Portuguese Government is faced with a strong united single National Front which is determined to win the elemental liberties for the great mass of the Goan people".

Mr. Mehta made a personal appeal to all Goans to participate in the *Satyagraha* Movement in larger numbers and said that Dr. Lohia had whipped up the population into frenzied activity and had created in them a tremendous political consciousness. The convictions of Messrs. Bendre, Kakodkar, and Shirodkar, who was on the staff of "The Navashakti" dynamic nationalist daily of that country, were an indication that an increasing number of intellectuals were taking an active part in the struggle for civil liberties.

" QUIT GOA " SOON

He recalled Dr. Lohia's remark that if the Portuguese Government did not now concede the most elementary civil liberties which were part of man's natural heritage everywhere, they would be faced with a Quit Goa demand after the manner of British India. Mr. Mehta warned the Goan Government to read the signs of the times and to act in a decent manner so that the transition of power to the people might be made as smooth and pleasant as possible for all concerned.

GOA GOVERNMENT'S FALSE PROPAGANDA.

Truth about Gomantak and Gomantakis.

(By the Publicity Officer of Gomantak Prajamandal).

" The Associated Press of India" has been releasing a series of statements on behalf of the Salazar colonial administration in Goa. They are supposed to contradict and counteract the effect of the usually well-informed and well-documented criticism and exposure of policy and acts of the Goa Government and patriarchy published in the Indian press. The British Indian news-agency, contrary to the elementary tenets of journalistic etiquette, does not extent publicity to the rejoinders provoked by the crude propaganda-drive of the official information department.

FREE DISCUSSION

We take the strongest exception to the A.P.I, reporting one-sided views instead of reporting news from Goa and would appeal to the Indian press to take this fact into consideration in utilizing the news agency's messages. Our organization desires that there should be full and unfettered discussion of Goan affairs. The Goa Government has every right to present its case if it has any and the same right should be claimed by the people ruled by them at any rate amongst those who enjoy the democratic freedom of expression outside Goa. Here are some of the instances of Goa Government's false propaganda replies to which have not been issued by the A.P.I, that actually broadcasts official reply to individual contributors in Bombay newspapers as general agency messages.

The Goa Government says the " Colonial Act " is not made applicable to Goa and quotes an executive decree to this effect. If the Act does not apply to Goa *de jure*, it does apply to Goa, under the Fascist technique of administration '*de facto*'. If the Goan Indians share the status of citizens of Portugal, why are they debarred from holding commission in the military ? Why was Sriyut Tristao de Braganza Cunha, whose trial proceedings fully shatter the claims and pretension of the Salazar regime, tried in a military court.

BREACH OF NEUTRALITY

In the telegraphic exchange with Mahatma Gandhi the Goa Government cites the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of another

country. Mahatmaji was informed that a representative of the ' Harijan ' cannot be allowed to interview Sriyut Purshottam Kakodkar. May we inquire why the Patriarch of Goa interferes in the Sophia College conversion incident, intimidates the Travancore State by addressing a letter to his colleague in Bombay and publishes it in his Ecclesiastical Bulletin, official organ of the Patriarchate financed by Government and under the provisions of the Salazar constitution, forming an integral part of the colonial administration? Why has the Goa Government maintained its propaganda and central agencies in Bombay ? Does it enjoy the privileges of extra-territoriality and if not how are these activities and operations justified in so far as they constitute an infringement of the principle of sovereignty ?

We repudiate categorically the completely false suggestion that the Gomantakis or people of Goa are so degraded and denationalized as to boast the superiority and inspiration of Portuguese culture or citizenship. The truth of the matter is that a handful of Brahmins who are well-entrenched in the colonial bureaucracy and class privileges are making the ridiculous claim of ' assimilation ' of Portuguese culture.

WE ARE INDIANS

The majority community of Hindus are indistinguishable from their brothers in Indian India while the Christians ethnologically, culturally and economically are indistinguishable from their Hindu brothers. A change in sectarian faith imposed through historic forcible conversion does not change a people's cultural heritage. Even assimilation, which is simply a process of denationalization, is superficial and much as Portugal may imitate countries of the position of France, cannot be associated with a country that remains in chronic need of national education as Dr. Salazar himself has admitted.

The claim that Portugal is an orderly and peaceful country because Great Britain and U. S. are sponsoring Portuguese application for admission to UNO is completely false. Col. Person's Argentina was earlier manoeuvred into the same position. Does it mean that Argentina was an orderly and peaceful country ?

FASCISTS AS DEMOCRATS

It is well-known fact that Great Britain maintains considerable investment and economic interests in Portugal and Portuguese colonies. In Goa itself British capital is invested in the harbour and railway. Portugal for this reason, has been described as an ' economic colony of Great Britain'. Franquist Spain encouraged by the Anglo-American "*beau geste*" of its fellow-clerical-fascist Portugal, is imitating the Portuguese democracy'. Does it mean that Fascist Spain has become as ' peaceful and orderly as Portugal ? The real character of Portugal is determined by the character of Government inflicted on that unfortunate country. The Portuguese constitution and the laws under which the country and people have been governed are clerical-fascist and in no respect indistinguishable from those of European fascist dictatorship.

The fact that the present ruling classes in Great Britain and U.S.A. and backing up the Salazar regime for reasons of power-politics does not mean that Salazarist fascism can change its complexion and become democratic. Democracy is definite and the criteria of democracy are full and unfettered legitimate freedom of expression, association and thinking. There is not the slightest evidence, that any of these has existed since Portuguese

republicanism was destroyed in 1926 and the Salazar dictatorship came into existence. It is trying like every surviving fascist dictatorship to save itself in the post fascist epoch.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 7th October 1946

Marathi writer arrested at Quepem

Mr. S. D. Pal, Bombay Representative of the National Congress Goa, writes :

On 2nd October, the Gandhi Jayanti day, Mr. Venkatesh V. Vaidya a Marathi writer of Cuncolm was beaten and later arrested by the police at Quepem while addressing a crowded meeting. Four members of the audience were severely beaten and taken to Police custody, but were later released. Mr. Vaidya had previously intimated the Governor of his intention to offer *Satyagraha* by a letter.

There were processions at Margaon and Quepem to celebrate the *Gandhi Jayanti*. At Quepem the police wrested the tri-colour flag.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 9th October 1946

Satyagraha gathers force in Goa.

'Portuguese Government Dare Not Touch Dr. Lohia'. Says British Consul.

Information received from Goa says that the Council of Action of the National Congress (Goa) has decided to intensify the *Satyagraha* Movement.

Satyagraha will now be offered every day.

"Portuguese Government dare not touch Dr. Lohia. They do not know what they are doing" remarked Mr. Kyte, the British Consul in Goa, when he was approached by Sjt. Nath Pai for reliable information about Dr. Lohia. Mr. Kyte has promised to make full inquiries.

SATYAGRAHA AND ARRESTS

The *Satyagraha* Movement under the National Congress (Goa) is gaining momentum daily and in spite of all the Portuguese oppression new *Satyagrahis* are coming forward.

"Mr. V. V. Vaidya, Who offered *Satyagraha*, on 2nd instant the Gandhi Jayanti Day at Quepem, has been taken to Panjim jail. Mr. Narayan Naik and Mr. P. P. Shirodkar have been taken to Aguada Fort and are kept in a cell with Mr. Kakodkar.

On 4th instant Mr. Haivankerm, a student worker from Goa, offered *Satyagraha* at Fonda. On the 5th instant Mr. Bhende defied ban on speech at Decholi ; on 6th instant Mr. Manohar Kuncolinker and on 7th Mr. Kamat offered *Satyagraha* at Mapuca and Vasco de-Gama respectively. All the *Satyagrahis* were arrested and have been kept in local jails.

Dr. Lohia has been kept in a solitary cell at Aguada Fort and none is allowed to interview him.

Free Press Journal, dated 10th October 1946

Goa repression can't be tolerated—economic sanctions will come.

Belgaum (By Mail).

Shri Gangadharrao Deshpande, the Karnatak leader in a statement reviews the recent events in Goa and says :

" Though Goa has been under Portuguese rule, the people of India cannot forget that Goa territory is a part and parcel of India. Their struggle for establishing civil liberties for themselves has aroused the keen sympathy of all Indians. The Portuguese Government of Goa cannot expect Indians outside Goa to remain unaffected by the legitimate agitation of their brethren in Goa, or by the cruel manner in which Goa authorities are dealing with the situation. That Government should realise the necessity of guaranteeing civil liberties to its citizens, and of immediately releasing not only Dr. Lohia, but others also, who have been imprisoned in the course of the satyagraha movement.

Failing this, it is but natural that Indians outside Goa, will feel called upon to share, the sufferings of their Goan brethren by actively helping them and by taking part in their struggle for civil liberties. This is bound to widen the scope of the present Goan agitation and intensify the struggle.

If unfortunately the Portuguese authorities do not adopt a reasonable course, it will be impossible for the Government of India to be mere spectators of what is happening in and about the Goa territory. The authorities in Goa should not forget their utter dependence on the rest of India not only for the clothes they wear, but a large part of the food they eat. About one-third of the Goa population earn their living in the Province of Bombay. If the public opinion in the surrounding parts is so roused as to withhold supplies, a large part of Goa will have to be depopulated. I earnestly hope that the Portuguese Government will not drive us to force a boycott of this nature so distressing to our Goan countrymen and so disastrous to that Government".

A report from the National Congress Goa says :

Father Manuel Jose Barreto, Professor in the Seminary of Pillar, sent a letter to Mr. T. B. D'Cunha when in Aguada Fort congratulating him and expressing sympathy for his sacrifice in fighting for the good of his country and people. This letter however did not reach the addressee, but some days later Father Barreto received a notification from the Patriarch asking him to explain how he wrote this letter. Father Barreto replied that he as a priest had to do justice to truth and well intentioned work, irrespective of whence it came

POLICE NOT PAID

The Police in Goa have not been paid for the last three months. A Policeman's monthly wages are very meagre and the cost of living in Goa is higher than in any Indian city. The dissatisfaction prevalent in the police has increased.

SATYAGRAHA

Since Dr. Lohia's arrest and confinement in Aguada Fort the *Satyagraha* movement in Goa has gained strength and momentum. Goan *satyagraha* are coming forward in greater numbers and the movement is spreading in district towns and thickly populated villages. Shree Halarnekar, Bhende, Manohar Cuncoliyemkar, and Kamat offered *satyagraha* on the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th at Ponda, Bicholim, Mapuca and Vasco-de-Gama respectively.

Mr. Halarnekar was tried immediately that is, on 5th the Portuguese Republic Anniversary day, though it was a holiday. He was sentenced for a month and a half. This sentence is interpreted to indicate a new approach towards the movement on the part of the Government.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 12th October 1946

Autocracy in Goa.

Sir.—The Head of the Information Bureau of the Portuguese Government in Goa, has wasted a lot of space of the Bombay Press to proclaim that the civil liberties do exist in Goa, although the "Laws of that Fascist regime" prove the contrary. But the long epistles of the Fascist propagandist who tries to cover the truth by enveloping it in a veil of misrepresentations should not misguide anyone. These methods have always been the pivot of their propaganda.

The pro-Congress " *The Goa Times* " a Concanim weekly published in Bombay has been under "ban" in Goa for almost a decade. Although no official notification appeared anywhere to this effect, its copies are confiscated by the postal and customs authorities in accordance with a secret circular of the Goa Government. Not content with this, on the 8th instant a Goan travelling to his native place Nachinola, a village in Bardez., carried with him a copy of the " *Goa Times* ", which published an interview from the General Secretary of the Goa Congress Committee giving lie to the Information Bureau's assertion that the Colonial Act was never meant for Goans. The customs authorities at Colem detained this Goan for 24 hours for possessing this issue and was submitted to a humiliating search of his person. Three days after his arrival home, he was arrested again and is now rotting in the Mapuca police lock-up. None can tell how long he will remain there. Such samples of sheer despotism are the order of the day in the Salazar ruled Goa. We would welcome an explanation by the Head of the Information Bureau of this, to say the least, arbitrary action.

MASSILLON ALMEIDA.
General Secretary
Goa Congress Committee.
Bombay.

Times of India, dated 12th October 1946.

Readers' views

Goans and self-determination

To. The Editor " *The Times of India*",

Sir, Mr. Gandhi's suggestion of interference by the Viceroy on behalf of Dr. Lohia, is practically absurd.

It was Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Nehru who encouraged Dr. Lohia in his. second attempt to go to Goa on a mission of agitation, first it was a light for independence now it is a fight for civil liberties.

The trouble with most Socialists is their anxiety to monopolise the limelight. Ever since the Congress took up the reins of Government, the Socialists have lost their platform, and have decided to go places.

Goa is as much a part of India as Nepal, and I wonder why some of the Congressmen do not go to Nepal as they go to Hyderabad or Mysore If British Paramountcy does not extend to Nepal, it does not extend to Goa either.

The educated section of Goa where literacy is far higher than that in British India has been used to a brand of independence a century before

British India thought of it. The only shock the Goans got was when the "Acto Colonial" was passed a few years ago. To a people whose democratic and cultural outlook (the only flaw in which is a caste-system that degrades both the Hindus and the Christians) is far in advance, any tutoring from outside agencies is repugnant.

Undoubtedly, the Goans must themselves fight for their independence and decide what should be their relations with the Indian Government or Portugal, whether they would like to be merged in the great Maharashtra province now envisaged by Mr. S. K. Patil and others or remain an independent unit federated with the Indian Centre.

It is a matter of self-determination for the people themselves and Portugal should assist the people to come to a decision. This can only be done by giving them freedom of speech and assembly.

M. LARGO-AFONSO.

Bombay, October 4.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 21st October 1946.

Goa National Congress President Arrested

Belgaum, October 19 (A.P.I.): Dr. Hegde, President of the National Congress of Goa, was arrested at Margaon while trying to address a meeting on October 18 in connection with the "Goa Satyagraha Commemoration and Intensification Day" which was observed throughout Goa, according to Mr. Mohan Deshpande of the Propaganda Department of the National Congress of Goa.

Eleven others including some girls were also arrested.

Some students were also arrested at Panjim for distributing bulletins.

GOA SATYAGRAHIS

Belgaum, October 23 : It is reliably learnt that the satyagrahis arrested in Goa on October 18, including Dr. Hegde. Mr. Bhembre and Laxmanrao Sardesai, were tried in civil court and sentenced to two months' imprisonment each—A.P.I.

The Bharat Jyoti, dated 27th October 1946.

Transportation for Bhembre

SENTENCE ON GOA ADVOCATE

(From our Correspondent)

Goa, October 26 : Mr. Laxmikant Bhembre an advocate has been sentenced to four years' transportation by a Court Martial. His brother Dr. Narayan Bhembre was imprisoned for two months after trial by the Civil Court of Kapan, Dr. Ram Hegde and Mr. Lohia have been sent to the Aguada Fort.

Seven youths Malik, Bhanudas, Mapsenkar, Kakodkar, Sardesai, Sarmalkar and Saraf were arrested during the Diwali celebrations for participating in a **prabhat pheri** at Marmagoa. They were released later in the night, and it is said that they were ill-treated when they were in the lock-up.

Shri Pandurang Shirodkar, the Free Press of India representative in Goa, has been charged with sending alarming news and will be tried by a Court Martial.

Free Press, dated 1st November 1946

Goa Government Accuses Journalist

(From Our Correspondent)

Nova Goa, October 31 : Mr. P. P. Shirodkar, correspondent of the *Free press Journal* who is detained at Aguada Fort by the Government of Goa has been accused of sending a report to the "Free Press Journal" published on September 22, about the popular rising in Margao.

This report, the authorities allege, endangered the credit of the Portuguese Government in foreign countries, and disturbed public peace and order. An offence of this nature is punished by the Portuguese Penal Code with deportation.

The people of Goa are agitating for a public enquiry into the police excesses at Margao of September 18, and have expressed their belief in the report published in the "Free Press Journal" on September 22nd.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 2nd November 1946

Situation in Goa " Delicate "

PORTUGUESE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO DISCUSS QUESTION Karachi, November 1st (A.P.I.): The Portuguese National Assembly in Lisbon is likely to discuss the political situation in Goa.

The question, will be raised by Prof. Col. T. Froilano de Mello, member of the National Assembly representing Goa on November 26. the second day of the session. Prof. De'Mello left Karachi by air today for Lisbon to attend the session.

In an interview he characterised the situation in Goa as delicate and said that he would present a true picture of the situation "frankly and honestly". He said that it was for the Portuguese Assembly to determine its future course.

GOA CONGRESS PRESIDENT ARRESTED

Belgaum, Nov 2 (A.P.L.) : Twenty one members of a second batch of Satyagrahis who offered Satyagraha on October 26 and 29 in Portuguese India, have been arrested according to the propaganda department of the National Congress of Goa. The batch included Mr. George Vaz, President of the National Congress of Goa.

The arrests were made at Kete, Panjim, Agashi, Bicholim, Sawardam and Durbhat.

ONE MONTH EXTRA FOR WEARING KHADI CAP IN COURT It is also stated that another three persons were sentenced to four months imprisonment for breach of the ban on speeches. One of them who did not remove his Khaddar cap in the Court was sentenced to an additional one month's imprisonment.

Free Press Journal, dated 5th November 1946

People's Struggle in Goa

Satyagraha offered in several places

Bombay, Monday.

Satyagraha was offered at several places in Goa, namely, Margao, Panjim. Mapuca, Bicholim, Sanvordem, Quepem on October 28 and 29, according to a Free Press of India message received here.

A *Satyagraha* meeting was addressed by Andrade, Ramakant Naik, Gopinath Chandelkar and Shirsat. A big procession was taken out in the evening. In all, 11 persons were arrested that day at Mapuca including the speakers who had addressed the meeting. They were all taken to the Police station and put in a lock-up.

At Bicholim also, large crowds had gathered to witness the *Satyagraha* offered by George Vaz, Mandrekar, Nilkanth Karapurkar, Kadkade and Kamat. All of these *Satyagrahis* were arrested by the police. At Panjim, Narayan Shete, at Margao, Laxman Pai Fondevkar, at Quepem, Krishnakant Hegde Desai and Gopal Virginkar, at Durbate, Vasant Kare of Margao, at Fonda, Pandurang Tari offered *Satyagraha* and courted arrest.

At Margao, police made a lathi charge on the crowds and the crew of the Portuguese cruiser "Bartholomeu Dias" who happened to be present at the site of the *Satyagraha*, intervened. In the scuffle that followed between the police officer and the crew, the officer was injured. All the wounded were taken to the Hospicio Hospital for treatment.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 8th November 1946

One Month Jail for Gandhi Cap

Goa Judge Sees In It " Contempt of Court"!

(From a Correspondent)

A strange case of how justice is administered in Goa has just been brought to light. The District Judge of Mapuca, Dr. Rao, is the only Hindu Judge in Goa, Mr. Andrade, who was arrested by the Mapuca Police for offering *Satyagraha* on 29th October, was tried in the Court of Justice Rao. Andrade was wearing a Gandhi cap, which the Public Prosecutor did not like and he asked Andrade to take it off. The defence pleader of Andrade, Mr. Datta Desai, objected to the 'ultra vires' order of the Public Prosecutor, saying that the Judge only was competent to issue any order to the accused.

The Public Prosecutor then requested his Lordship to order the accused to take off his cap, Justice Rao nodded and addressing Andrade said : " Are you Hindu or Christian ? " Andrade said he was Christian. " Then you must take off your headgear in Court as per your religion ", commanded the Judge.

" Why ", Andrade retorted, " even if I am Christian by religion. I am Hindu by culture. The dress which I am wearing has nothing to do with my religion. "

The defence pleader asked his Lordship whether a Hindu would be allowed in the Court with a hat on, and requested him to continue his ruling to the hats only whoever the wearer was, irrespective of his creed.

His Lordship, however, thought that it was a " contempt of the court" and sentenced Andrade to one month's additional imprisonment, Mr. Andrade has been sentenced by the same Judge for four months imprisonment in connection with the Civil Liberties Campaign, along with three other *Satyagrahis*.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 13th November 1946

Goa Satyagrahi Prisoners on Hunger Strike

Belgaum November 11 (A.P.I.) : Messrs. Venkatesh Vernekar, Bhalchandra Halankar and Datta Deshpande, three *Satyagrahis* arrested in

connection with the movement for civil liberties in Goa and lodged in Margaon Jail are on hunger strike since November 1. Their condition is reported to be serious according to a press note issued by the Propaganda Secretary, National Congress of Goa.

The press note says that in accordance with the decision of the National Congress of Goa to offer mass *Satyagraha* at every place in Goa on every tenth day. *Satyagraha* was offered on November 8, at maupca, Cincolim, Pednem and other places by breaking the ban on meetings, taking out *prabhat phernes* and observing complete hartal. Mr. E. George, third President of the National Congress (Goa), Mr. Das Borkar, Secretary, Student Congress (Goa and many others) were arrested. Today shops are now being picketed according to the programme of the Congress.

Times of India, dated 15th November 1946

Goa Politics

To The Editor, " *The Times of India* "

Sir—Mr. Gandhi says that Dr. Lohia is a great man. Surely, he will soon excel Dr. Goebbels in the art of propaganda. His statement to the United Press of India, that processions as taken out, all over Portuguese territory, every day and many persons are arrested daily, is a lie. We, living in Goa, do not know where such processions are taking place daily. They exist in his imagination only.

His assertion that the Christians are entirely in sympathy with the cause but have not shown courage enough to break laws is an insult to the Christian community. It may be correct to say that certain Hindus, the real black-marketeers of Goa, who have made tons of money, during the war, and still continue to fleece the poor of their hard-earned money, do sympathize with Dr. Lohia's movement, but have not the courage to take active part in it.

But to stigmatize the Christian community as wanting in courage is mere nonsense, when one remembers the fact that during the two world wars, thousands of young men belonging to this community gave their precious lives for the cause of freedom.

The fact is that the Christian community, as a whole, do not wish to be misled by men of the type of Dr. Lohia who wish to build up their reputation, by false and mischievous propaganda. The Christians are definitely against the movement sponsored by Dr. Lohia, whose movement has already created communal ill-will.

"BRITISH INDIAN".

Margaon, November 1.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 18th November 1946

Censorship on Goa Newspapers

KUDAL November 17.

President of Democratic League, Goa, wires :—

Newspapers are not allowed to report Dr. Lohia's Court-Martial proceedings. Not only his speech, but even his written contestation which deals with technical non-applicability of the Section 149 Penal Code is forbidden. The summary of Dr. Lohia's speech in the Court given by the Governmental " *Daily Heralds* " is a distortion. Dr. Lohia is to be removed from Portugal by the end of this month.

Free Press Journal, dated 20th November 1946

Whipping Punishment for Satyagrahis

Goa Governments Terror Tactics, Poona, November 19

The Goa *Satyagraha* movement is rapidly gaining strength, and the Goa authorities, alarmed by the success of the *Satyagraha* campaign, are reported to be resorting to a new technique of terrorising the *satyagrahis*. According to information reaching here, the Goa Government has now started giving sentences of whipping to politicals.

It is understood that several politicals were recently awarded whipping sentences.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, the Congress Socialist leader who is conducting the Goa *Satyagraha* movement from Belgaum, has sent an appeal to the oiganisers of the Kolhapur Praja Parishad to send volunteers to Goa immediately to offer *satyagraha*. Accordingly, it is learnt, a batch of 30 volunteers will shortly be leaving for Belgaum.

Mr. N. G. Gore, the Maharashtra Socialist leader, left tonight for Belgaum to have consultation with Dr. Lohia.

Free Press Journal, dated 21st November 1946

Goa Politics

The Director of Information of the Goa Government has again attempted to throw dust into the eyes of the public from Bombay. His bold assertion that the native of Goa are considered citizens of Portugal with inherent rights is a travesty of truth. Savage sentences passed by Portuguese Court-Martial on the law-abiding citizens and the barbarous methods introduced to deal with *Satyagrahis* amply reveal the fraternity of the Portuguese rulers, of which their officials boast so much.

PROPAGANDA SECRETARY.

National Congress (Goa).

Bombay Chronicle, dated 30th November 1946

Darkest day in Goa's History

Dr. Bossa's Propaganda stunts Fall Flat on Goans.

The Secretary of the Bombay Branch of the National Congress (Goa) writes :—

" Peace is the very essence of the Portuguese civilisation. We have carried the message of peace wherever we went. It is this Portuguese culture and civilisation of peace which is immune from the attack of goondas during the communal frenzy between Hindus and Muslims in Bombay, Goans never succumb to riot knives " declared Dr. Bossa, Governor-General of Goa, replying to a welcome address given to him by the Municipality of Margao last week.

Dr. Bossa added, " Our great Premier Salazar is named " Oliveria " after the holy olive tree, a symbol of peace."*.

Referring to the what he called a, scurrilous attacks on Portuguese and their rule in Goa by Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit before UNO at New York, Dr. Bossa said " It was a deliberately unfair attempt made by the India's delegate to blacken the name of Portugal and win the day. " In justice to fairness ", said Dr. Bossa, " Mrs. Pandit would not have stated what she

stated if she had tried to obtain a knowledge of the true state of affairs in Goa through a representative before making this show in a gallery of about 50 distinguished deputies of the world's nations."

A CALL TO CONVERSION

Pointing out the defects of the caste system in India, Dr. Bossa observed, " The other day I read in "Times of India" about a famous Hindu temple in Madras being thrown open to Harijans. In contrast to this, we have kept open our temples of Christ in Goa to all peoples for the past four centuries. "

NOT AFRAID OF BLOCKADE

" Nature is beautiful in Goa and every endeavour will be made to utilise the natural resources of Goa in industrialising and making the country self-supporting. Thanks to the strategic and safe harbour of Marmagao, we are able to import Rice from Burma and Siam, Sugar from Java and Africa and Wheat from Australia. We propose to export our produce to those countries in return " concluded Dr. Bossa.

SUBJUGATION DAY

" We Goans strongly protest against the policy of Portuguese Government which compels the people against their wishes, to associate in the celebrations of the Subjugation Day of Goa the day of the beginning of the alien tyranny which is officially known as ' Reconquest Day'. We condemn the policy which humiliates our national spirit. We also condemn the false propaganda carried out by you and your agents abroad ".

Thus runs a telegram sent to the Governor-General of Goa and the Portuguese Press by Goans at Belgaum, on the eve of the " Reconquest Day. ".

25th November is the darkest day in the history of Goa, for it reminds Goans of the end of their liberty by the Portuguese 436 years ago. Portuguese on the contrary consider that day as most auspicious since Albuquerque brought " salvation " to half a million Indians of Goa.

The National Congress Goa, has appealed to all public to desist from participating in the Government celebrations of the day of Goa's subjugation under foreign yoke.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 6th December 1946

Goa National Congress : Dr. Lohia during his short sojourn in Bombay conferred with the Bombay Branch Committee of National Congress Goa and reviewed the whole situation. An elaborate plan has been drawn and programme worked out for bringing political and national consciousness among Goans in Bombay numbering about 80,000 and intensifying the Civil Liberty movement in Goa.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 6th December 1946

8 Years' Transportation to Goa

Congress Chief

Belgaum, December 5, (A.P.I.) : Dr. Ram Hegde, President of the National Congress of Goa, has been sentenced to transportation for eight years by the Goa Court Martial, according to information received at the Belgaum Office of the Goa Congress.

National Standard, dated 7th December 1946

Goa Prisoner on fast since Monday

Mr. P. P. Shirodkar, a journalist, who has been imprisoned by the Portuguese authorities in the fort of Reis-Magos on the charge of sending " alarming news out of Goa, has been on hunger-strike since December 2, as a protest against " meagre ration " states propaganda Secretary of the Goa National Congress.

SATYAGRAHA IN MAPUCA

Mapuca, a District town of Goa, is again in the limelight. There was a large scale Satyagraha in the town on 28th November 1946. A big procession marched through the main thoroughfares of the town in which hundreds of satyagrahis took part. When the procession reached near the District Administrator's office police arrived and dispersed the crowds with the help of lathis and canes. The police arrested Vasant Desai, Chandrakant Thalli, Digamber Pujari, R. P. Shetye, Shanbhu Korgaonkar, Ram Krishna Karpe and Bhaskar More in this connection. A youth who offered Satyagraha at Aldona, was also arrested by the police. Tukaram Dighe and Waman Inamdar who were arrested by the Panjim Police on the " Reconquest Day " for shouting ' Bharat Mata Ki Jai' were shaved, jogged and released.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 13th December 1946

Goa Union Chiefs Plea to Congressmen

The following letter has been addressed to the President of the Indian National Congress by Mr. I. A. Collaco, President of Goan Union :—

' The Central Council of the Goan Union, the representative institution of Goan emigrants while appreciating the purpose of Dr. Lohia and other Congressmen in espousing the people of Goa to make a stand for civil and political liberties sadly curtailed under the present regime, consider that the initiative in any such movement must come from the Goans themselves whether inside or outside Goa, and that the untimely eruption of Indian Congressmen may, instead of attaining the end in view, lead to unnecessary suffering, ill-feeling and bitterness.'

" The Goan Union along with all patriotic Goans is interested in a peaceful solution of the Goan problem and would, therefore, strongly urge Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian National Congress and Dr. Lohia to suspend their activities regarding Goa until such time as representative Goan institutions move in the matter and ask for their intervention."

Times of India, dated 17th December 1946

New Status for Goa

Governor-General's Announcement.

From Our Own Correspondent, Nova Goa, December 16.

The Governor-General of Goa announced that the Government of Portugal had granted a political status for Goa which would give it the same status as a province of metropolitan Portugal.

The Governor-General also announced that an economic conference would be held in Lisbon in 1947 to which representative from Goa would be sent. Speeches were made in the Government Council of Goa expressing the gratitude of the people to Portugal.

GOANS AND BRITISH INDIANS

" British Indians and Portuguese Indians have lived for many centuries as brothers, respecting and helping each other ", said Mr. Madeva Caculo, President of the Goa Chamber of Commerce, at a tea party given to Mr. R. A. Baig, Indian Consul in Goa, by the business community. He pleaded for better relations between the two countries specially in what relates to trade and industry.

Mr. Baig, who spoke in Portuguese, replied that his aim would be to bring about a better understanding between the people of Goa and British India.

The Governor-General of Portuguese India was among the guests present at the party.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 19th December 1946

Deported from Goa

Bombay, December 18 (A.P.I.) : According to a report from the Goa National Congress, Bombay Branch, Dr. Ramrao Hegde, Messrs. Kakodkar, Loyola and Bhembre, who were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment in connection with the Civil Liberties Movement in Goa, and who were undergoing imprisonment in the Fort of Aguada, were, it is believed, shifted to the Portuguese cruiser ' Bartholomew' bound for Portugal.

Dr. Moynekar and Maordeker, who were arrested in connection with the movement have been tried and sentenced to 45 and 30 days' imprisonment respectively.

The National Congress of Goa has organised large-scale Satyagraha in about 25 villages and towns in Goa to-day, which marks the first half anniversary of the Goa Satyagraha movement.

National Standard, dated 24th December 1946

Puppet C. A. for Goa

Governor Blows Hot and Cold

The Propaganda Secretary, Goa. National Congress (Bombay Branch) writes :

" The Governor-General of Goa has made an important announcement during the special session of his Council last week. Under order from the Lisbon Government the Governor has declared a Constituent Assembly for Goa and has nominated Messrs. G. Melo, Castilha, A. B. De Costa, Pinto Menezes and Vinayakrao Kaisare to form a Committee for shaping a new constitution for Goa, with powers to co-opt additional members to serve on the Committee.

" Curiously enough, however, the Governor has not invited peoples' representatives on the constitution making body and such being the case, the people of Goa are not much hopeful about the favourable outcome of this Committee. It must not be forgotten that while the Governor was contemplating the move of the Constituent Assembly on the one hand, he was secretly arranging the exile of the four Goan leaders sentenced to deportation on the other. Repression of Goan patriots continues with great fury and it is impossible to conceive how political reforms can take place in Goa when the gagging machine is so callously operating and liberties of speech, organisation and press are still denied to the Public. "

Bombay Chronicle, dated 29th December 1946

Plight of Goa Deportees

Bombay, December 28 (A.P.I.) : The Goa National Congress, Bombay has received a message from Port Said saying that the condition of the four deportees from Goa who are on way to Portugal is " very bad.". The four political leaders of Goa who have been sentenced to deportation are Dr. Ramrao Hegde, Mr. Fanchu Loyola, Mr. Purushottam Kakodkar and Mr. Lakshmi Kant Bhembre.

The message says that these deportees have neither warm clothes to withstand the severe winter nor do they have any money to get their bare necessities. The cruiser " Bartholomew Dias " in which the deportees are being taken is expected to reach Lisbon on January 5.

National Standard, dated 4th January 1947

A Nationalist's Criticism

Reactionaries to Draw up New Goa Constitution, Nova-Goa, January 3.

A New political statute will be granted to Goa by the Portuguese Government according to an announcement recently made by the Governor-General of Goa at a special meeting of the Governor's Council.

The announcement is, however, a vague one indicating neither what this status would be nor when it would come in force.

Some quarters believe that the speech of Dr. Froilano De Melo, Goa's Official Delegate in the National Assembly of Lisbon, a few days prior to the announcement, requesting the Portuguese Government to raise Goa to the status of a province of Portugal, gives a hint as to the Government's intentions.

Goa is at present administered under the Portuguese Colonies as one unit. The Governor has a Council to assist him, which serves purely as a consultative committee discussing proposals put before it by the Governor. The Council consists of 12 members eight of whom are nominated and four elected.

A Government spokesman said that Government had decided nothing about the statute. A committee of five members of the Council had been formed to draft the statue after consulting the wishes of the people. The committee was free to take the help of outside non-official elements in the drafting of the statute and could submit any constitution it thought fit for the Colonies in Portugal.

Nationalist circles here are inclined to view the announcement as mere propaganda. These circles point out that the complaint of Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit at UNO that the Portuguese were giving a bad deal to the Goans was partly responsible for keeping out Portugal from the UNO membership and state that Portugal now eager to secure entrance into the UNO is trying to show to the world that the Portuguese Government is being fair to Goa.

A prominent Goan leader said that the conception of Latin imperialism which forms the basis of Portuguese rule, does not permit of decentralisation of power. Neither was it likely, he stated that the people would be associated with the administration of Goa under the present political regime in Portugal.

He added : "The highest compliment the Portuguese believe they can pay to " Goans " is to consider them as Portuguese and give them the

same rights as enjoyed by the Portuguese at home. But these rights could not possibly satisfy nationalist Goans ". Political autonomy, he pointed out, could not be granted without financial autonomy and Goa could not stand its own legs without help from British India.

Nationalist circles are also not satisfied with the personnel of the committee, which they point out has an official president. They also attach significance to the appointment of a priest on the committee since the church has declared itself against the movement.

Meanwhile, Dr. Froilano De Melo has suggested in a recent speech in the National Assembly that the new statute for Goa should be signalised by granting of amnesty to political prisoners and the appointment of an Ambassador for Portugal at New Delhi—A.P.I.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 9th January 1947.

Goan Deportees Arrive In Lisbon

Bombay, January 8 (A. P. I.)—" The four Goan deportees Dr. Hegde, Mr. Loyola, Mr. Bhembre, and Mr. Purshottam Kakodkar— arrived in Lisbon on Cruiser " Bartholomew Dias " on January 5, according to information received here by the Goa National Congress.

PUBLIC MEETING OF GOANS.

Under the auspices of the National Goa Congress (Bombay Branch) a public meeting was held in the Jinnah Hall, Vithalbhai Patel Road on Thursday the 9th inst. at 6-40 P. M. Mr. D'Silva, Advocate presided.

Mr. Borkar, a poet of Goa, spoke on some of his poems in Konkani depicting the Goans " March of Freedom " and also sang three of them. He was followed by Messrs. Kakodkar and D'Sa who also sang patriotic poems in Konkani.

Mr. Bhai Desai speaking next in Konkani described the problem of Civil Liberties in Goa. He congratulated the Goans on having started the Satyagraha Movement in Goa led by Dr. Lohia. He said that Goans had spread out in all parts of the World—they were in England. America. Africa, in almost all parts of British India, as well as on ships sailing in the high seas. To all of them the name of Dr. Lohia had become worthy of praise. No doubt many of them on account of their duties could not take part in the movement to free Goa from the Portuguese rule but he appealed to them to assist the National Goa Congress by way of finance :

Dr. Lohia speaking in English described the various stages of the movement and read extracts from his new book " Action in Goa ". He declared the aim of the Portuguese Government that was ruling over Goa was to tire out the satyagrahis by inflicting on them long term imprisonment, whipping and thumb-racking. He asked the Goans to put up with all these sufferings as it was only such sufferings that made like worthwhile.

Dr. Lohia appealing to the Goans especially the Goan Youths said that he wanted an army of 5,000 *satyagrahis* who would, batch by batch, defy the repressive laws of the Portuguese Government. He expected every one Goan out of 100 to suffer imprisonment as it would not only hasten the day of freedom but would be a source of encouragement to the places on Goa border such as Ratnagiri and Karwar. He cited the example of some young men and women who had thrown their weight whole heartedly on the side of the movement and every time the police trapped them and asked them to shout " Viva La Portugal " (Long live Portugal). They refused to do so and instead shouted " Jai Hind ".

The President winding up the meeting thanked Dr. Lohia for his illuminating address. He strongly endorsed the appeal of Dr. Lohia for 5,000 satyagrahis to come forward to instill a spirit in the movement that was now launched in that unhappy land.

The meeting terminated at 8 p. m. about 1,500 persons (Both Hindus and Christians) attended.

[H. C. W. D'Souza and Reporter Bhagsingh were present throughout the proceedings.]

[Nothing untoward to report.]

S. B. (I) C. I. D.
10th January 1947.

Free Press Journal, dated 11th January 1947

Goa Ban on Bombay Weekly

"Ameho Sounzar" a Konkani weekly of Bombay, has been banned by the Goa Government for publishing cartoons and pictures about the *satyagraha* in Goa according to the National Congress, Goa.

Copies of the journal are also reported to have been confiscated by the Goa police—A. P.

AN ILL-CONCEIVED MOVE

(By "Super Veritas Omnia" De Goa)

The report by the Portuguese Government of Goa which appeared in "The Bombay Chronicle" of the 4th instant of granting a "New Statute" to Goa so as to enable this small territory to frame a "New Constitution" is rather ill-conceived and appears to be one of the most fantastic and ridiculous announcements ever made by the Governor-General of Portuguese India.

The conditions in Goa as they are today, regarding daily necessities of life are, from day to day growing worse. Although the Portuguese Government ever since the war years, have had adopted a rationing system, its working in reality had been a hoax and a big force on this rationing system, it had been practically impossible to obtain food and other requirements. Strictly speaking, the people of Goa are being supplied with their weekly quota of food-grains once in three months and then for a further indefinite period it is totally impossible to obtain further supplies of foodgrains. Most of the sugar imported from Africa finds its way into "Black Market" and in recent days one could obtain as much sugar as one required for Rs. 2/8 a pound. The Government servants in connivance with shopkeepers and dealers are actively and whole-heartedly encouraging the rise and growth of the "Black Market". The Portuguese Government instead of exploring avenues for alleviating these wretched and miserable conditions have been on the contrary, permitting imports of large quantities of wine and alcoholic spirits into the country. Many rice-growing regions have become barren for want of cultivation. Almost all the people of Goa have fled to other parts of British India due to these terrible conditions and Goa has thus become a land of desolation and solitude.

WHAT GOANS NEED

I am rather surprised and bewildered at the reported move of the Portuguese Government. It is difficult to conceive in the light of these conditions in Goa, what material good the new move is to bring on the people of

Goa. What the people of Goa reque today is not the conferring of Statutes or annexing the country to Portugal or Azores as a part of the Province. Today the people in Goa require more food and not fabulous quantities of wine and alcohol as is supplied by the Government employment, industrialisation and above all the amelioration of the deplorable and wretched conditions prevailing in Goa.

NATIONAL CONGRESS GOA (Bombay Branch)

S. B. (I), January 11th 1947

Under the auspices of the National Congress, Goa (Bombay Branch) a public meeting was held at the Peoples' Jinnah Hall, Bombay, on January 9th, Mr. D'Silva, Advocate, presided and about 1,500 persons, mostly Goans attended. Messrs. Borkar, Kakodkar and D'Sa sang poems on "Goa Struggle". Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and Bhai Desai made speeches.

Dr. Lohia traced the history of Goa Struggle with particular reference to his book '*Action in Goa*'; He appealed for 5,000 volunteers to defy the repressive laws in Portuguese Goa and cited instances of those who had suffered in the Goa struggle. Mr. Bhai Desai congratulated Goans for the Satyagraha Movement in Goa and appealed for funds.

Gold ornaments were offered for the *satyagraha* fund and they were auctioned by Dr. Lohia. A sum of Rs. 1,300 was collected on the spot.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 11th January 1947

Ornaments Offered For Goa Satyagraha

National Congress (Goa) : In response to Dr. Lohia's appeal in the public meeting of Goans held in Jinnah Hall on January 9, under the auspices of the National Congress, Goa (Bombay Branch) Mrs. Shanta Borker, Miss Ratan Shirodkar, a sister of poet Borker and Mr. Wamanrao Desai offered their ornaments for the *satyagraha* fund. These gold gifts were immediately auctioned by Dr. Lohia and the sale proceeds together with gate collections amounted approximately to Rs. 1,300.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 13th January 1947

Satyagrahis for Goa

Training Camp to be opened at Khanapur—125 Arrests in December— Belgaum, January 11 (A. P. I.) : A twelve day camp for training *Satyagrahis* for the resistance movement in Goa will be opened at Khanapur near Belgaum on January 13, Sreemati Kamaladevi and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia are expected to stay in the camp.

One hundred and twenty persons were arrested during December in connection with the Satyagraha movement in Goa, states the Goa National Congress.

SHIRODKAR ON HUNGER-STRIKE 13th January 1947

Belgaum, January 11 (A. P. I.) : Mr. Pandurang Shirodkar, a Journalist, is on hunger strike for the last ten days in Madgaon jail, reports the Goa National Congress in Belgaum.

According to the report Mr. Shirodkar's condition is precarious.

The Goa National Congress has sent telegrams to Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel requesting their intervention.

Free Press Journal, dated 15th January 1947

Fasting Goan Worker's Condition Serious

Bombay, Tuesday.

A communique from the Goa National Congress, Bombay branch says : The condition of Mr. Pandurang Shirodkar* who has been on hunger-strike from January 2 has further worsened. He is having regular attacks of nausea and his health is causing anxiety. He was completely unconscious on January 8. In the opinion of doctors, the condition of Mr. Shirodkar is very serious.

Goans have sent numerous telegrams to the Governor of Goa to act promptly and save the life of the prisoner.

The National Congress, Goa has wired to Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to intervene in the matter as early as possible.

Times of India, dated 18th January 1947.

Goa Satyagrahi Released

Mr. Pandurang P. Shirodkar, Journalist who had been on hunger-strike in Margao Jail, was released on January, 15 according to the National Congress (Goa).

Mr. Shirodkar is reported to have fasted for fourteen days without taking anything except plain water—A. P. I.

GOA CONGRESS

Bombay S. B. (I) C. I. D.

Under the auspices of the Goa Congress Committee, a public meeting was held at Forbes Hall, Vithalbhai Patel Road, on January 26th, Dr. B. H. D'silva presided. About 400 persons, mostly Goans, attended. Messrs. Lalji Pendse and Kelkar made speeches.

Mr. Pendse traced the history of the Portuguese occupation of Goa and condemned the present regime of Dr. Salazar as Fascist rule. He advised the Goans to organise for obtaining their civil liberties and also urged the Goans to appeal to the Interim Government to see that the food and cereals are distributed to the people of Goa and not exported by the Portuguese Government for their profit.

The president explained how the Goans were deprived of their civil liberties by the Portuguese Government and the necessity of the struggle. He read out the Independence Day pledge. Mr. Kelkar advised the Goans to intensify their propaganda against the Portuguese Government.

National Standard, dated 29th January 1947

Stock-Taking of Goa Struggle

"The Goa of to-day is an awakened Goa" : —"The Portuguese will have to quit Goa soon, whether they like it or not. I am fully convinced as you all are that the Portuguese cannot maintain their *status quo* in Goa for long," observed Mr. Shridhar Telker, Managing Director of the Indian Press Association inaugurating the meeting of the National Congress Goa (Bombay Branch) in Forbes Hall, V. P. Road, on Sunday. Mr. S. R. D'Silva, the President, of the Bombay Branch was in the chair.

Mr. Telker went on, " When India is completely free and independent, all your troubles will be over. How can a little tiny country five thousand miles away suppress the will of people determined to be free ?"

" Perhaps you may like to be free from India too, perhaps you may wish to be a part and parcel of Indian Republic or perhaps you may like to join Maharashtra, Karnataka or other province. But that is to be decided by Goans. I do not think India has any right to say that Goa should belong to any particular province. That you have to decide yourselves and naturally you will not tolerate any dictation.".

Mr. Telkar inaugurated the publications of "Our Goa" bulletins conducted by the Bombay Branch of the National Congress Goa and printed in English, Marathi and Konkani.

Mr. Lalji Pendse then addressed the meeting. Referring to the glorious past of Rane who fought the Portuguese so bravely, in whose memory, the Goa Day is celebrated to-day, Mr. Pendse paid eloquent tributes to the martyrs of the freedom and said.—

" This year Goa, the hitherto dismembered part of India has been in action. She has launched upon a programme of action calculated to force out the Portuguese hangman and to win back her freedom. The voice of Goa and India thus intermingle and produce a symphony which symbolises something higher, mightier and the nobler the reshaping of the world and its affairs.

The present struggle is now six months old. It is time we took stock of our achievements and failings. Despite the great initial success allow me to submit that there has been a misconception of the very nature of the Fascist Dictatorship and, secondly, hesitancy in action and orthodoxy in thinking. That is why at the end of these six months we notice a sorry spectacle of the movement expressing itself through a token form and I find a sense of uneasiness is gaining ground. In order, therefore, to be able to arouse all sections of the people round the banner of revolt raised by the Goa National Congress, a well-defined programme guaranteeing full democratic and equal rights and outlining the immediate tasks must be formulated. I may indicate a few points :

1. Abolition of all social disabilities and equal treatment for all;
2. Guarantee of the right of suffrage and citizenship by virtue of birth
3. Immediate survey and settlement of all lands, on the lines of India ;
4. Graded income-tax on lands with exemption for a fixed minimum ;
5. Adoption of the policy of prohibition ;
6. No State funds for any religious institutions ;
7. No expenditure of Lisbon Government or enforced loans to other Portuguese colonies from Goa revenue ;
8. Freely elected municipalities on universal franchise with powers enjoyed by Bombay Municipality ;
9. The Executive to be responsible to the Legislature wholly elected by adult suffrage, with full powers of legislation;
10. Immediate investigation into the natural resources and speedy industrialisation ;
11. Introduction of the system of education as it obtains in India with Indian languages as medium and with a similar curricula as of the Bombay University ;
12. Portuguese as an optional language ;
13. Encouragement and grant-in-aid to Marathi and Konkani schools ; without interference or restrictions or conditions as regards the management or curricula ;
14. Right to float co-operative banks ;
15. Immediate steps to stem out malaria in Sanguem and Sattari and such other parts as are infected with it ;
16. Distribution of food through People's Committees enjoying their confidence ;
17. Elimination or reduction in export-import duties and for that end negotiations with the Government of India.

National Standard, 29th January 1947

GOA SATYAGRAHA CAMP

The Goa* *Satyagraha* Camp was opened at Khanapur on January 13, by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. About 25 *satyagrahis* were trained during the ten days under the guidance of Shri Annasaheb Deshpande. On January 23, the closing day, Shri Anna Guruji, a prominent Congressman of Belgaum, explained to the *satyagrahis* the importance and methods of *satyagraha*.

GOA CONGRESS TO START PAPER

The National Congress of Goa, it is understood, intend founding a propaganda journal in Bombay in the immediate future. In this connection, a deputation on behalf of the Congress waited on Mr. Dinkarao Desai, Minister for Civil Supplies, at the Secretariat on Thursday. The Minister is understood to have assured every possible help in the matter.

The journal, which will be called " *Our Goa* ", it is learnt, will be devoted to expose the miserable conditions prevailing in Goa today and carry on wide propaganda campaign to espouse cause of the Goan subject. Its aim is to help creating a new Goa, where every Goan will be worthy as a happy citizen, with the consciousness of democracy, willing to live and die for a free and united Hindusthan.

Bombay Sentinel, dated 17th March 1947.

Goan Political Conference

The Secretaries of the Goan Political Conference write :

The Reception Committee of the Goan Political Conference at its meeting held on Saturday last after taking cognisance of the moves by certain interested parties and agents of the Portuguese Government has decided to carry on the work of the Conference with redoubled vigour. The Committee notes with satisfaction the support and co-operation that is forth-coming from Goa inspite of all the obstacles and restrictions imposed by the Portuguese authorities, the latest being the ban on assemblies of five or more persons. Many have been fined in this connection. All methods of coercion and intimidation are being used and stage-managed demonstration in favour of continuance of the Portuguese domination are being held. On 6th instant people from every village of Goa were forced for a free ride to Panjim to attend one such demonstration when the Governor General at the end of his speech shouted " Here is Portugal ".

We once again warn our countrymen against the disruptionist elements both in Goa and here and appeal to every Goan to participate in Conference and demonstrate your determination to sever connection with Portugal and your patriotic will for self-determination and re-union with Mother India.

Times of India, dated 22nd April 1947

National Congress (Goa) ; The Bombay branch of the National Congress (Goa) has started publication of three Fortnightly News Organs styled as " *Amacha Gomantak*" in Marathi. " *Amachem Goem*" in Konkani and " *Our Goa* " in English. The first issue of ' *Amacha Gomantak*' was out on the 20th instant; the first number of the Konkani fortnightly, will be issued on the 27th instant and the English Organ will be issued sometime in May next. Those desiring to enrol as subscribers of these journals should contact the Jt. Hon. Secretary of the Bombay Branch, National Congress (Goa), J. K. Building No. 4/20, Gamdevi Bombay.

GOANS PUBLIC MEETING

Under the auspices of the National Goa Congress, Bombay, Mr. Evagrio George spoke on "*Portugulseachem Raj Malyargoankar Anche Nissatan*" (Portuguese Raj means destruction of Goans) on the 27th instant (Sunday) at 10-30 a.m. in the Siddharth College Hall, Queens Road, Bombay.

Mr. George explained the various restrictions imposed on the Goans both in their movements as well as in Press. There was no freedom of speech or action. Papers criticising the Portuguese Government published in Bombay and other places were also not allowed to be brought into Goa. He explained the " Movement for Freedom " that had started in Goa and condemned the Portuguese Government for the heavy sentence of 8 years — servitude that has been passed on Treiesatao Braganza de Cunha, the foremost leader in Goa who had now been sent to Mozambique, a Portuguese territory of Africa. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia then continued the great task of continuing the " Satyagraha and although many of the Goan leaders had been arrested and imprisoned, the movement had awakened the spirit of the people of Goa. Now that freedom was coming to India, the Portuguese Government that was corrupt and weak and he was sure that Goans would wrest freedom from Portuguese hands. In conclusion he commended the slogan " Free Goa in Free India ".

About 75 persons attended the lecture which terminated at 11-30 a.m.

S. B(I) C I. D.

28th April 1947.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 13th June 1947.

Goan Political Conference " Quit Goa " will be the Main Demand.

Bombay, Thursday.

The Goan Political Conference which will be held at the Sunderabai Hall in the third week of June will give a deserving reply to the Portuguese Minister of Colonies who has boasted that much Portuguese blood will have to be shed before the Portuguese are compelled to leave Goa, in its " Quit Goa " Resolution.

The conference which will be attended by Goans of all communities and creeds will be presided over by Dr. George de Silva.

The resolutions tabled below give an idea of what awaits the Portuguese masters from their hitherto humble " Goanese " subjects.

Considering that Goa, Damaun and Diu geographically and ethnically form an integral part of India.

Considering that from the earliest times Goa has shared with the rest of India a great and glorious civilization and has acquired distinct individual culture which her people would preserve and develop unhindered.

Considering that during their four hundred and thirty-seven years of domination the Portuguese have attempted to crush our manhood and to reduce us to moral and spiritual slavery by suppressing freedom of thought, expression and association, and crippling our power of moral resistance by the callous encouragement of drunkenness ;

Considering that during this period they have sapped the vitals of our economic life by severing free commercial intercourse with the rest of India, and by failure to develop the natural resources of the country, thus forcing more than one sixth of the population to leave the country in search of means of livelihood ;

Considering that it is the inalienable right of the people of Goa, Damaun and Diu to determine their own form of government;

Considering finally that India is on the verge of freedom and the British have announced their decision to Quit India by June 1948, the people of Goa, Damaun and Diu cannot but be eager to share the destiny of Free India;

This Conference of representatives of Goa, Damaun and Diu correctly interpreting the aspirations of the people Resolves :

To call upon the Portuguese Government to Quit India forthwith and hand over power to the elected representatives of the people.

Considering that our future, political and economic, is indissolubly bound up with the future of the rest of India ;

Considering that geographically and ethnically we are a part and parcel of India and cannot therefore have a separate existence entirely independent of the rest of India ;

This Conference of representatives of Goa, Damaun and Diu Resolves :

To declare itself in favour of integration into the Free India of tomorrow.

Free Press Journal, dated 16th June 1947. '

Quit Gea' Reply to the Portuguese threat

Resolution For Goan Political Conference.

Bombay, Sunday.

Integration of the Portuguese-ruled Goa, Daman and Diu into the free India of tomorrow will be the theme of the main resolution to be moved at the Goan Political Conference, to be held at the Sunderbai Hall, Bombay on the 21st instant.

The resolution would be in reply to the braggadocio of Capt. Teofilo Duarte, Minister of Colonies in Portugal who is reported to have said that the Portuguese flag will not fall down in India without some thousands of Portuguese, white and coloured, shedding their blood in its defence.

The statement, which aroused a great deal of resentment among many patriotic Goans, has now had its repercussions.

The Quit-Goa resolution which considers it the inalienable right of the people of Goa, Daman and Diu to determine their own form of Government to Quit India forthwith and hand over power to the elected representatives of the people.

The resolution further states that during the 437 years of domination, the Portuguese had sapped the vitals of the economic life of the people by severing free commercial intercourse with the rest of India and by failure to develop the natural resources of the country.

THE PRESIDENT

The Conference will be presided over by one of the most distinguished Goans in India—Dr. George da Silva.

Dr. da Silva who hails from the village of Curtorim, Salsete, Goa, served for eight years as Director of Public Health, Central Provinces, but resigned from the I.M.S., at the height of his professional career to join the first non-co-operation movement of 1920.

At the time, Dr. Da Silva was the only Goan Christian to join the movement.

Then followed a period of hard work in the service of the country during which he was elected President of the Jubbulpore Municipality and the Jubbulpore District Congress Committee.

Dr. da Silva's next venture was in the field of work among labourers. A close friend and associate of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, he spent considerable time among the working classes studying conditions at first hand and helping to ameliorate their lot.

In 1939 he was elected the first President of the Mahakoshal Provincial Forward Bloc and member of the Working Committee of the All India Forward Bloc.

National Standard, dated 19th June 1947

" Goan Kranti Day " in city

Patil's Call to take up Portuguese Challenge.

" If blood is to flow, it shall certainly flow but Goa is bound to be free very soon ", observed Mr. S. K. Patil, President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee presiding over a meeting of the Goans held to celebrate first anniversary of the " *Goan Kranti*" at the Jinnah Hall, Bombay, on Wednesday evening.

Mr. S. K. Patil referred to a statement made by Mr. Teofiles Duartes Colonial Secretary of the Portuguese Government, that blood would flow before Goa became free and said that it was a challenge to the people of Goa ; he felt sure that people of Goa would take up the gauntlet and their would be no need for celebrating Kranti Day next year. The people of Goa then would have to decide whether it should join the Indian Union or not. He hoped that Goans would certainly give their verdict in favour of uniting with the rest of India.

A resolution strongly disapproving the claim of the Nizam of Hyderabad over Goa was passed at the meeting. By another resolution, the fighters of Goa were congratulated and the tactics of the Portuguese Government denounced.

Prof. Wellinker and several other speakers condemned the imperialist attitude of the Portuguese Government and gave an account of Goa's struggle to be free.

1ST ANNIVERSARY DAY OF CIVIL LIBERTIES STRUGGLE IN GOA CELEBRATION OF—

Bombay, 19th June 1947.

Sir,

Under the auspices of Goa National Congress Bombay Branch, a public meeting attended by about 300 persons was held at Jinnah Hall, Vithalbhai Patel Road, at about 6-45 p.m. on June 18th to celebrate 1st Anniversary of Civil Liberties Struggle in Goa. Mr. S. K. Patil presided.

Messrs. S. K. Patil, B. B. Borkar, Prof. Wellinker who presided over the meeting after Mr. Patil left the meeting and Luis Jose De Souza made, speeches.

Mr. B. B. Borkar while suggesting the name of Mr. S. K. Patil to the chair gave an account of the Satyagraha movement started by the people in Goa for their freedom on June 18th. 1946 and remarked that it would continue till the people of Goa were free.

Messages received from the following persons expressing their sympathy with the struggle of the Goa people for their freedom were read out : —

- (1)Prime Minister B. G. Kher.
- (2)Mayor of Bombay.
- (3)Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit.
- (4)Mr. Shankarrao Deo.
- (5)Mr. S. L. Silam.
- (6)Mr. Kaka Kalekar.

Mr. S. K. Patil during the course of his speech paid high tributes to the people of Goa who started Satyagraha Movement in 1946 for their freedom and further criticised the Colonial Minister of Goa who had recently given a challenge to the people of Goa that blood of thousands of Goan people would flow before Goa was free. He asked the people of Goa to accept the challenge and not to care even if they were compelled to shed their innocent blood for the sake of their country's freedom. He further gave an account of the consent the National Congress to give for partition of India to avoid bloodshed in the country though the Congress desired to keep India undivided. The speakers further assured the audience that the free India would be a Republic of Indian people and it would always be ready to help the people in Goa to achieve their freedom not with the intention of dominating over them but to have a fraternal relation with the Goa people.

He then moved a condolence resolution for the sad demise of Acharya Dharmananad Kosambi and it was passed all standing.

Mr. S. K. Patil then left the meeting as he had to attend the tea party arranged by the Bombay Provincial Students' Congress for Mr. V. K. K. Menon, General Secretary of the India League, London and the personal envoy in Europe of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru.

Prof. Wellinker then presided over the meeting.

Mr. B. B. Borkar informed the audience that Col. Jagannathrao Bhonsle' who was to address the gathering could not attend the meeting for some unavoidable reason and further read out the message sent by him. In the message Col. Bhonsle had asked the people of Goa to carry on their struggle for freedom and to raise an army of the Goa people to achieve their freedom. He had expressed his full sympathy with their struggle as he was their neighbour being the resident of Sawantvadi State.

The president then moved the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted at the meeting : —

(1)Appreciating the sacrifices made by the people of Goa for their country's freedom during the last year and further expressing their determination to continue the struggle till they were free.

(2)Resenting the attitude of the Portuguese Government as expressed in the latest declaration of the Colonial Minister and declaring that they would not yield to such threats.

(3)Expressing their protest against the talk that was going between the Nizam Government and the* Portugal Government about taking Goa on lease and warning both the Governments that the people of Goa would not tolerate any understanding between them.

Mr. D'Souza spoke in Konkani.

The meeting terminated at about 8-30 p.m.

GOAN POLITICAL CONFERENCE

Bombay 20th June 1947.

Sir,

I beg to report that a conference was held under the auspices of ' Goan Political Conference' at Gujarati Forbes Hall, Vithalbhai Patel Road on 19th June 1947 at 7-15 p.m.

Mr. Satooskar introduced Mr. D'Souza as a president of to-day's Conference.

Mr. D'Souza spoke in Koknim language that to-day we are going to pass at least two or three resolutions as follows : —

- (1)Quit Goa.
- (2)Protest against negotiations between Nizam and Portugal.
- (3)Protest against delegation which is going to Portugal.

and for this to form a fighting body, otherwise Goa will be like India, Hindustan and Pakistan, therefore, Christians and Hindoos must unite.

Conference began at 7-15 p.m. about 30 persons of equal majority of Christians and Hindoos were present for the Conference, and terminated at 8-30 p.m. peacefully.

Watcher.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 21st June 1947

Future of Goan People

PROBLEM TOUCHES LAKHS OF LIVES.

By : Observer—The propaganda published in the rigidly-controiled and precensored papers in Goa shows that an organized attempt is being made to confuse and mislead the people of Goa over their future in Free India.

PORTUGUESE PROPAGANDA.—To cite two recent and typical statements the head of the Roman Catholic Church D. Jose de Nunes Patriarch, asserts :

The Catholics (of Goa) are westernized. They are as much Portuguese as the Portuguese of Portugal. They have nothing to do with the ancient civilization of India and therefore, they are opposed to Goa's incorporation in India. If Portugal does not succeed in capturing the friendship of Catholics Goa is lost for us.

' O Bharat' edited by a Hindu Hegde Desai writes in Goa, there is no conflict between these two classes (landlords and agriculturists or *bhatcars* and *mundcars* in Concani). Never has the *bhatcar* put obstacle in the way of the *mundcar* when he wanted to emigrate at his will, when he wanted to buy property and build houses.

Under the Goan press law, every single line published has to be approved by the official censor and it is claimed that no violent personal attacks are permitted. But as the editorial in the Bharat from which I'm quoting contains an attack on a prominent political worker in Bombay the readers of the Goa press interpret it as a part of official propaganda.

GOA MEANS EMIGRANTS

It is a well-known fact that every able bodied Goan, both Hindu and Roman Catholic, is forced to emigrate out of economic necessity. The Goan poverty is something appalling and makes a tragic contrast to the

beauty of the landscape, a certain amount of natural opulence and unutilized wealth and untapped resources. The Goan people are the most industrious and personally loveable. They mass-emigrate and the fine houses you see in Pangim, Margao, Mapuca and throughout Goa represent the hard work and enterprize of the emigrants. It is not Goa's feudal landlords but the mass of emigrants who have made and maintain Goa. Other classes live parasitically in these toilers condemned to exile.

Sometime ago, a writer in the *Journal de Geneva*, analyzing the problem of India's future constitution, had suggested that even if India became free, there would remain pockets of foreign domination—the French and Portuguese settlements. The fascist foothold in the latter would constitute; a perpetual danger, he had suggested. The words of the reverend Portuguese gentleman I have quoted above appear to confirm this view

NO RESISTANCE WHY ?

But some of us who have known and loved the Goan people and have always cherished sentiments of friendship and interest in their affairs are concerned with the problem that affects lakhs of human lives. The mass of the emigrants is like the mass of our people. In fact, the Goan people are our people—racially, culturally and in every respect. They have lived for centuries under the economic empire of foreign rulers allied with the *bhartcar* and small *safaidposh* class that lives parasitically and have been systematically exploited.

On present information and testimony obtained from various sources, it has to be admitted that there is no strong political movement of resistance in Goa. The *satyagraha* movement flared up for a time under superficial stimuli and has died out inevitably after Purshottam Kakodkar, the one leader who knew the psychology of his people and possessed extraordinary vision, was arrested and deported. But there is no reason to assume that the Goan people lack in patriotism. The simple fact remains that they are held in the powerful vice-like grip of their foreign rule and the agencies that have always worked hand-in-glove with that rule.

CHOOSE YOUR FUTURE

The irony of the situation is that long before the Indian National Congress was born, a Goan, Francisco Luis Gomes, had lighted the flame of Indian nationalism. He proclaimed the inspiring message of Indian Nationalism in Europe and was warmly greeted by the *esprits de libre* who imbibed their inspiration from the French Revolution, Luis de Menezes Braganza, who trained an entire generation in the liberal thought and rationalism, followed him. Both these men were Roman Catholics by birth and training although they raised a standard of revolt against the exploitation of their people in the name of religion.

What is now the future of Goans ? My contention is that they have every right to live in complete freedom wherever they like in this country and share common Indian prosperity. Their rulers and their parasites might want to isolate and employ them in the designs of maintaining foreign or native hegemony. This is exactly what they are trying to do. But that need hardly affect our view of the Goan people's problem, a problem, I cannot too often stress, that touches lives of lakhs of people living in Greater India. They have a right to live peacefully and should not be made to accept responsibility, or statements of foreign agencies of any and every kind. Their Patriarch wants them or the Roman Catholics amongst them to fight for Portuguese rule. They are welcome to do it if they choose.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 21st June 1947

Goa will Resist:

Sir,

Some time back an American news magazine gave out for the first time the news that the Nizam was negotiating for the " purchase " of Goa. However, this was denied at the time as fantastic. Since then similar reports have emanated from London and elsewhere. Now the Nizam is about to proclaim his independence and demand a corridor to Goa. Of late more than one claimant has cast his eyes on little Goa more because it possesses the great natural harbour of Marmgoa which if properly developed has the potentialities of a first class port and a strategic naval base.

It is possible that the Portuguese themselves seeing the writing on the wall in their last desperate attempt may try to " sell " it to the Nizam. But they are living in a fool's paradise. Goa is determined to get rid of Portuguese rule and the Goan people are getting ready for the day of reckoning when they will have to wrest power from the Portuguese and also to defend their liberty from any other Power. Resurgent Goa will not tolerate any threat to its liberty and integrity.

MASSILLON ALMEIDA.

Below endorsement dated the 21st June 1947 from the Superintendent of Police, S.B.I, reg. Goan Political Conference to be held in the Sundera-bai's Hall, Churchgate, Bombay. *Returned :*

Sir,

I attended the Goan Political Conference which was held in the Sunderabai Hall, Churchgate on the 21st and 22nd May 1947. Entrance to the Conference Hall was on payment of Rs. 2 per head but somehow I managed to get a Complimentary Pass for both the days which is attached for perusal.

The following were the office bearers : —

- (1)President : Dr. George D'Silva, from Jubbalpore.
- (2)Chairman : Mr. Luis Jose De Souza, M.A., M.Sc.
- (3)Secretary : Mr. Vernerkar.

The following were present on the opening day : —

- (1)Mr. Purshottam Tricundas.
- (2)Mr. S. K. Patil.
- (3)Mrs. Kamladevi Chattopadhyay.
- (4)General Bhosle.

The Conference was inaugurated by Mrs. Kamladevi Chattopadhyay.

On the opening day the conference started at 3-45 p.m. and ended at 5 p.m.

Messages wishing the Conference every success were received from the following :—

- (1)Mrs. Vijaya Laksmi Pandit
- (2)Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
- (3)Sardar Kawishwar.
- (4)Mr. Sarat Bose.
- (5)Mr. Shankarrao Deo and
- (6)Mahatma Gandhi (sent on behalf of Mr. Gandhi by Amrit Kaur).

The following persons Spoke "on the first day : —

President : Dr. George D'Silva.
Mr. Luis Jose De Souza.
Mrs. Kamladevi Chattopadhyay.

Mr. Luis Jose De Souza informed the audience that the Commissioner of Police had at first withheld permission to hold the Conference but on persuasion gave his consent. That some delegates from Goa who were to attend the conference were arrested and locked up by the Portuguese Police.

Dr. George D'Silva read out a lengthy report from the *Goa Times*. After this the conference was postponed for the next day (22nd).

The audience on the opening day was between 300 and 400 consisting mostly of Hindus.

On the 22nd June the Conference started at 10 a.m. and ended at 12-45p.m. the attendance was then as the previous day i.e. between 250 and 300.

The resolutions were unanimously passed.

There were interruptions when the main resolutions demanding that the Portuguese quit this Indian territories and that Goa, Daman and Diu should be integrated with the rest of Hindusthan.

A small section opposed the resolution against Goa joining the Indian Union unless there came into existence a socialist constitution guaranteeing to Goa full autonomy except in Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications.

In one of the resolutions they denounced the reported move of the Nizam Government to purchase Goa and one of the speaker Mr. Borkar said that let the Nizam enter Goa and they would see that the Nizam is led among the ruins.

Mr. Alvares who spoke on the main resolution referred in the course of his speech compared Mr. Jinnah to Mr. Jaffar saying that he had weakened India to the profit of none except the British.

The following spoke and supported the resolutions which were unanimously carried :—

- (1) Dr. George D'Silva,
- (2) Zambaulikar,
- (3) Miss Kamat,
- (4) Mr. Borkar,
- (5) Mr. Almeida,
- (6) Mr. S. B. D'Silva (Advocate),
- (7) Dr. Gore Pinto,
- (8) Mr. J. P. Lobo,
- (9) Prof. Attaye,
- (10) Mr. S. D. De Souza,
- (11) Mr. Luis De Souza, and
- (12) Mr. Luis Jose De Souza.

The following were appointed to the standing committee, consisting of five persons:—

- (1) Mr. L. J. De Souza,
- (2) Mr. S. B. D'Silva,
- (3) Mr. P. Alvares,
- (4) Mr. V. P. Borkar, and
- (5) The president of the Goa National Congress.

The Conference terminated amid vote of thanks to those present.

The Bharat Jyoti, dated 22nd June 1947.

Goa's Freedom must come with that of India.

Liberation only a matter of Weeks—says Kamaladevi.

Bombay, Saturday.

"Viewed in the context of the political changes that are taking place around us, I make bold to venture that the liberation of Goa can only be a matter of days or weeks before it is realised", thus declared Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattpadhyay, inaugurating the Goan Political Conference at the Sunderabai Hall, Bombay, this afternoon.

A number of prominent citizens, including Dr. U. M. Mascarenhas, Dr. Mrs. Julliet De Souza, Dr. Menino De Souza, Mr. Purshottamdas Tricumdas, Mr. S. K. Patil, President of the B. P. C. C. and several City Congressmen claiming connection or affiliation with Goa, were present at the inaugural session of the Conference today.

Mrs. Kamaladevi continued : "Goa belongs to the heart and soul of Hindustan and it is but proper that India's freedom should synchronise with that of Goa. It is nevertheless extraordinary how an internal part of our country could have been so completely and successfully isolated from the main stream of our national life simply because, by a sheer accident of history, artificial barriers have been set up by a foreign regime."

IN THE LIMELIGHT

Proceeding, Mrs. Kamaladevi observed that the political breeze that had swept across India in the course of the last few years had stirred the "stagnant pool" that was Goa to the depths, and had brought the situation prevalent within, that state into unpleasant prominence. That was; just as it should be, she said, for when men were without the essentials: of life when they were denied the elementary nominal rights of citizenship, when they were constantly tracked and dogged by the ominous shadow of the State and when as the result of these accumulated evils, the people: had to live in perpetual fear and sorrow, it was high time something was done to remedy the situation and done quickly.

UNDER CLOAK OF RELIGION

The trouble with things in Goa, Mrs. Kamaladevi stated, was that tat too much injustice was being perpetrated under the cloak of religion. It was not so much suppression of the freedom of speech that mattered. It was freedom of the larger variety, freedom of a much deeper and more vital significance, that was at stake. The speaker said she felt happy, however, that the mass of the Goan people had realised their response bilities; there could be no truer test of freedom than that.

She added feelingly. The Goan public must share with the rest of India in this great struggle to bring freedom to the common man, to

make freedom a living reality, so that and and women can lead freer, happier and nobler lives. It is this Freedom for which the people of Goa must live and work for."

GOA UNDER PORTUGUESE RULE

Dr. George De Silva, President of the Goan Political Conference and a member of the Executive Committee of the Radical Democratic Party, who presided over the evening's inaugural session, gave a graphic, dismal picture of the state of Goa as a result of years of Portuguese rule.

Added to these woes, the speaker went on, the foreign power was ruling Goa with an iron hand, the Executive was responsible neither to the Legislature nor to the people, Civil liberties were non-existent, Public opinion, such as could be felt through the medium of the press, was suppressed. The Judiciary was helpless and there wasn't even the vestige of independence in Law Courts.

No PETTY REFORMS WILL SATISFY

Referring to the new Constitution that was sought to be framed for Goa by her Fascist masters, Dr. De Silva declared :

" No tinkering with reforms will satisfy our needs and no Constitution will be acceptable which does not have the determining voice of the people behind it. We are in no mood to be dictated to. The fundamental basis of any such constitution must be social, economic and political democracy."

Dr. De Silva concluded : " It is high time we Goans shake off our age long lethargy, and with the new born consciousness, assert our birth right for a better living and freedom from the foreign yoke.

Free Press Journal, dated 23rd June 1947

Quit Goa demand divided views on Union with India

Bombay, Sunday

There were interruptions at today's final session of the Goan Political Conference at the Sunderabai Hall when the majority sought to drown the opposition. The main resolution demanding that the Portuguese quit their Indian territories and that Goa, Daman and Diu be integrated with the rest of Hindustan was passed by an overwhelming majority.

A small section, however, opposed the second part of the resolution. They were against Goa joining the Indian Union unless and until there came into existence a socialist constitution guaranteeing to Goa the fullest autonomy except in Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications.

Among other resolutions passed was one expressing gratitude to Gandhiji and the Indian National Congress for help in the Goa struggle for civil liberties, and to Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit for drawing Goa's case to the attention of the UNO. The conference denounced the reported move of the Nizam to purchase Goa and also the reported use made by the Portuguese Government of Goan Christians on their way to Rome to make propaganda against the nationalist movement in Goa. Finally the Conference appointed a Standing Committee of five persons consisting of Mr. L. J. D'Souza, Mr. S. B. D'Silva, Mr. P. Alvares, Mr. V. P. Borkar and the President of the Goa National Congress or his nominee, to implement the resolutions.

The President of the Conference was hard put to maintain order from the very beginning when his reassertion of disapproval of the politics of *satyagraha* met with angry protest. Mr. Peter Alvares moved the main resolution referring in the course of his speech to the Portuguese success in isolating Goans from the main current of Indian national life, He likened Mr. Jinnah to Mir Jaffer declaring that he had weakened India to the profit of none except the British. The confused state of national politics, he said, had also had its effect on the Goan mind.

He paid a tribute to Dr. Lohia for his initiation in Goa of the struggle for civil liberties. He also paid a tribute to the gallant band of young people who had suffered in that struggle.

Supporting the resolution, Professor Lavande said that the real damage that the Portuguese had done in Goa was not material but spiritual. The people had forgotten their Indian culture and were indifferent and apathetic towards a revival of nationalism.

Mr. Louis D'Souza then wanted to move an amendment which was in favour of withholding the integration of Goa with India till a later date. This led to a general uproar, supporters on either side yelling furiously. The audience could only be pacified by the President disallowing any amendments on the ground that the public was invited to make any amendments the previous day at the meeting of the Subjects Committee. It was protested that this invitation was never publicised and that the delegates were selected by the Reception Committee, which was itself self-elected.

National Standard, dated 23rd June 1947

Goans' Call to Portugal

The People of the Portuguese and French possessions in this country have begun to entertain grave doubts regarding their future. The former number about 8,00,000 and the latter 3,23,000. While the subjects of the French territories have yet to organise themselves effectively, those of Portuguese India have already formed their own organisations to express their views for the benefit of the rulers and for eliciting the sympathy of Indians outside Portuguese India. This consciousness among some of the Portuguese Indians is due to the repressive policy pursued by the Government and to some extent the open support accorded by them to missionary bodies.

The Goan Political Conference held in Bombay during the week-end has brought to prominence the distressing state of affairs prevailing in that part of the country which is no bigger than any single district of the province of Bombay and which could easily be split up into two parts and annexed to the Maharashtra Province that is to be constituted sooner or later. If any portions nearer Belgaum prefers to have alliance with the Kannadigas, there should be no difficulty in annexing it to the province of Karnataka that is to be constituted.

For 430 years, with a brief break perhaps, the Portuguese who claim to have "captured" Goa managed to isolate the territory from the rest of India by measures which reflect too credit to them. Even to this day the situation in the Portuguese territory comprising Goa, Daman and Diu is no more delightful than those areas in Khandesh, Thana and Panch Mahals districts where aborigines live. If anything, it is worse, thanks to the beneficent work done by the Bhil Seva Mandal and Adivasi Seva Mandal. The

aborigines of these' there areas have become conscious of their responsibility to society to, some extent, but the people of Goa are practically interned in their homes. As stated by Srimati Kamaladevi, who inaugurated the Political Conference, has been completely and successfully isolated from the general stream of the country's national life-because of the artificial barriers set up by a foreign regime.

The President of the Conference Dr. George De Silva is no professional agitator nor is he any youthful politician who could be associated with the Socialist leader Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, against whom the Portuguese Government had so much to say. Goa is being ruled by a Governor-General and a Legislative Council with an absolute official majority. The regime can be compared to the martial law administration set up in Amritsar in 1919. Civil liberty is non-existent. Public opinion is not allowed to be formed and if occasionally there is any suspicion that opinion is entertained by anybody it is ruthlessly suppressed. The press is muzzled. Dr. De Silva remarks that Judiciary is powerless and there is no vestige of the independence of the Courts, which is a *sine qua non* of any civilised modern Government.

The claim of the President that Goans are a "gifted" people will not be contested. They are persons of versatile talents several of them, frustrated at the stagnant position they had to occupy in their homeland, migrated to Bombay, Ceylon and Africa and have been occupying positions, high and low. The chief sources of income of those living in Goa at present is the remittance sent by those people from 'British' India and abroad. Dr. De Silva pathetically admits : "Our ability and ingenuity are manifested outside rather than Goa". The tale of woe narrated by him is such as to stir up the gifted Goans wherever they may be.

Whatever may have been the causes of the lethargy of Goans in the past, they cannot remain oblivious to the necessities of times. It has been openly suggested that the Nizam of Hyderabad is casting his covetous eyes on their territory and that one or two of his deputies have been keeping themselves in intimate touch with "the" Portuguese Government. However thrifty the Nizam may be in regard to his domestic requirements or the demands of the people of his State, it cannot be said that he is niggardly in his attention to non-Indians when once he believes he can achieve his ultra-territorial ambitions. The poor Nawab of Chattari, Prime Minister, has become the camp follower of Sir Walter Monckton, his Constitutional Advisor, whether a Hyderabad: or New Delhi.

The resolutions passed by the Goan Conference, therefore declaring the inalienable right of Goa, Daman and Diu to determine their own form of Government to share the destiny of Free India and calling upon the Portuguese Government to quit India forthwith handing over power to the elected representatives of the people show that they are in keeping with the time-spirit. The Conference has also warned the Portuguese Government and the Colonial authorities against entering into any negotiations with the Nizam's Government in the transference, in any manner of any strip of land to His Exalted Highness. The mighty British who prided themselves to be the most powerful of the nations of the world have decided to quit India although they ridiculed the demand of the National Congress when it was put forward a little less than five years ago from Bombay. From the same historic city now comes the call of representative Goans to Portugal to see that the Governor-General and other officials quit Goa forthwith. Portugal is a much smaller country in

Europe than Britain and at no time could she compare herself to Britain in the matter of Army, Navy, Air Force or other resources. And the Portuguese Government ought to profit themselves by the experience of the British Government

PORTUGUESE ASKED TO QUIT GOA

Demand at Bombay Conference

The Goan Political Conference, at the second day session in Bombay on Sunday, passed a resolution calling upon the Portuguese Government of Goa, Daman and Diu to " Quit India forth-with and hand over power to the elected representatives of the people." Dr. George De Silva presiding.

The resolution stated that, considering the fact that Goa, Daman and Diu, geographically, ethnically and culturally, formed part of India, and considering that during their 437 years of domination, the Portuguese have attempted to crush our manhood and to reduce us to moral and spiritual slavery, the Portuguese Government had to quit. The conference also expressed the resolve of the Portuguese Indian territories for their reintegration into the free India of tomorrow.

The conference also conveyed its sense of gratitude to Mr. Gandhi for his continued interest in the affairs of Goa.

A section of the members of the conference, who were against the second part of the resolution, wished to move an amendment. Dr. De Silva said that if the amendment had to be moved, it should have been moved on Saturday, and he therefore disallowed the amendment.

The resolution was passed.

On Saturday the conference was addressed by Shrimati Kamaladevi, who said, "India's freedom must simultaneously mean freedom for the people of Goa", while inaugurating it at the Sunderabai Hall.

Shrimati Kamaladevi, who herself originally came from Goa, said that it was strange that when India was entering upon a new career as a free country it should have, within its frontiers, a tiny little island still under foreign control.

It was not possible for any province to remain in a country and not be affected by the immediate environment, she said. " So far as the political liberation of Goa is concerned, it is only a matter of a few days or weeks" she added. Shrimati Kamaladevi appealed to Goans to take their share with the rest of India in the great struggle of bringing freedom to the common man and making freedom a living reality.

Dr. George De Silva, who presided over the conference, asked the Goans to be on their guard and carefully analyse the fast changing political conditions in taking a decision concerning their future. Their watchword should be a free Goa in a free India. It did not matter to which province Goa joined, or whether it remained autonomous. The shape of its political alliance should be decided by Goans themselves.

Criticising the civil disobedience movement launched in Goa by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, " which has proved a failure," Dr. De Silva said that Dr. Lohia was just copying the technique and policy adopted by Mr. Gandhi in British India. Barring the few who took a " platonic" interest in the upheavals around them the mass of the people remained blissfully ignorant and indifferent.

The aims and objects of the conference, he said ought to be to devise a plan for the all-round development of the people of Goa.

Earlier, messages were read out wishing success to the conference from Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mrs. Vijaya Laxmi Pandit, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Mr. Shankarrao Deo and Sardar Sardul Singh Cavishwar.

GOAN CONFERENCE, 25th June 1947

During the sessions of the Goan Political Conference held on the 21st and 22nd of June, 1947, at the Sunderabai Hall, one grave and dangerous phenomena came to the surface. Unfortunately, our Goan Hindu delegates displayed fascist characteristics. During the course of the debates rowdyism was created in the hall and liberty of expression was denied to the speakers whenever they criticised the Indian politicians and their politics. One is unable to understand how these men, who vehemently criticise the Portuguese Government for their attitude with regard to civil liberties of expression, can afford to speak in terms of freedom from the Portuguese and at the same time deny that very liberty of expression to the delegates. The Congress ideology is again becoming a dominant factor in the struggle in Goa. This state of affairs betrays the lack of logic, political perspective and discipline on their part. If we have no right to free expression, the Goan Political Conference is a farce. Let us be warned. We are playing with fire.

Free Press Journal, dated 24th June 1947

No Total Severance from Portugal

Dominion Status would do for Goa' says D'Souza

Mr. J. M. D'Souza, Secretary of the Goan Peoples' League, Karachi, in a statement here today -suggested for Portuguese Goa, a status very similar to that of a Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Speaking at the Goan Political Conference, yesterday Mr. D'Souza had supported the demand for the Portuguese to quit Goa, but did not favour re-integration of Goa into India.

He says in a statement today : In Asia today there are so many examples for us to follow. Independence that totally severs connections with the quitting rulers has not been sought anywhere. Burma, Ceylon, Netherlands, India and other countries are all asking for Dominion Status. That does not mean that they want partial freedom or want to stay under their old rulers. It definitely means complete freedom and at the same time maintenance of friendly and co-operative relations with the former ruling power.

Mr. D'Souza appealed to the peoples of Goa and other Portuguese territories " not to be hasty, nor in the face of difficulties, make such moves as might bring about undesired factions among us and deprive us of a great future that is ours.

18th June 1947

Mr. B. B. Borkar

Addressed a meeting held under the auspices of the Goa National Congress (Bombay Branch) at Jinnah Hall, on June 18th, under the presidentship of Mr. S. K. Patil, to celebrate the first anniversary of the Civil Liberties Struggle in Goa.

Superintendent,

S.B.(I)C.I.D.

18th June 1947.

Prof. Welling.

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Superintendent,

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Free Press Journal, dated 17th July 1947

Bombay Goan Congress Not Legal

Bombay, Wednesday.

The Bombay branch of the Goa National Congress, it is reported, stands dissolved as the provisional office-holders of the organisation have failed to summon a public meeting of the Goans of the city for legalising the same.

Free Press Journal, dated 26th July 1947

An Appeal to Goans

When the British and the French Governments are preparing to transfer power to our brothers here, we in Goa are threatened with bloodshed and severe repression. Vain promises of conceding new powers are widely advertised on one side by the Portuguese Government to divert the rising tide of public opinion,, and on the other new taxes are imposed upon the people by autocratic methods. A new tax called the industrial tax imposed by the Government is going to upset completely the economic structure of our people. In spite of terrible oppression, the people are preparing to fight it. I appeal to our brothers in Bombay and all over India to give us their support as they have been doing so long.

My attention has been drawn to some misleading reports appeared in the press about the validity of the Bombay Branch of the National Congress (Goa). I have therefore to make it clear here that this branch is a legally formed body authorised by the National Congress (Goa), which enjoys our full confidence. I would request the Goans in Bombay and elsewhere not to give credence to misleading reports since they tend to harm, our national cause and strengthen the hands of our enemies by creating; a breach in our united ranks. This is the supreme moment when we have to compose our differences, close up our ranks, and pool all our resources together to make a final bid in the attainment of our goal, I therefore appeal to Goans in Bombay to extend their whole-hearted co-operation and support in furtherance of our cause, I once again appeal to all the people of Bombay and especially Goans, not to indulge in petty bickering against individuals. Let us be guided by noble motives and high ideals and let us march united to our great and noble destiny.

Dr. Vinayak N. Mayenkar,
President,
National Congress, Goa.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS, GOA

28th July 1947.

Sir,

Under the auspices of the National Congress, Goa, a meeting attended by about 25 persons was held at Cruz Studio, Churchgate, on 27th July 1947 at about 11-45 a.m.

Doctor Ram Manohar Lohia addressed the meeting. He speaking on the present political situation in India stated that India would be free from August 15th. He advised them to mobilise their strength in order to preserve that freedom. Continuing further, he added that the states such as Hyderabad, Travancore and Goa should decide to join the Indian Union before August 15th. He added that if the rulers of those states failed to do so, they would be overthrown by launching struggle against them. At the end he appealed to them to close up their mutual differences and be prepared to meet the situation.

The meeting then ended at about 12-15 p.m.

NATIONAL CONGRESS, GOA

4th August 1947.

Sir,

A public meeting attended by about 500 persons was held under the auspices of the National Congress, Goa at 11 a.m. on 3rd August 1947 at Cama Hall, Bombay, Dr. Juliano Menezes presided.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, the president and three other persons from the audience addressed the house. Except Dr. Lohia, all spoke in Konkani.

Dr. Lohia addressing the house said that 15th August would be a rejoicing day for the people in India, because they, after about 150 years got, rid of slavery, but the people in Goa and Hyderabad would not enjoy as there would be no change for them. Some portion of India which would remain under the rulership would certainly have some effect on the other parts of India. As regards Goa they are under the foreign government which threatened them that before leaving Goa they would have a big fight. The people of Goa will have to fight for their freedom. Inspite of the fact that there will be a national government in New Delhi still it will not be possible for that government to look into these affairs immediately. They have to look into their own affairs. In future the method of fight in Goa will be changed. The object of the struggle will also be changed. Uptill this time the Goan people wanted civil liberties, but now their object will be destruction Of the foreign government. Uptill now they used to struggle individually but now there will be mass struggle. Countrywide strikes would be held, mobilisation of their military would be considered and scattering of the Portuguese military would be tried. The Congress in Bombay should also take equal part in their struggle and help them to carry on their struggle. At this time all the Goans should sign a declaration showing their intention to remain as the citizens of the Indian Union and not the Portuguese Government. Every one should become members of the National Congress, Goa. Assuring the audience, Dr. Lohia said, that every Indians would participate in their struggle as that of their own.

The President, spoke on the past history of Goa and their struggle for their freedom and appealed all the audience to be united and show the foreign government that the Goanese would not remain under their rule any longer and would like to join the Indian Union.

A committee for the purpose of propaganda and other works was set up and the president appealed the audience to volunteer themselves. Messrs. George Vaz and Bhau Halankar were appointed as Secretaries and S. F. de Mellow, Anslekar, Wamanrao Sardesai, G. S. Nayak were appointed as treasurers of the Provisional Committee, National Congress, Goa. The name of the president was not announced.

The meeting terminated at 12-25 p.m.

National Standard, dated 8th September 1947

Goa Detenus in Portugal to be Freed ?

Goa, September 1947

Prominent workers of the Goa Civil Liberty movement detained in Portugal's jails are to be released this month, it is learnt from reliable sources. Passport arrangements are being made in order to send them to Goa as early as possible.

This move has been taken by the Salazar Government with a view to maintaining their prestige in the eyes of other nations.

Among the few prisoners who have been released one Mr. P. P. Shirodkar, a Press Correspondent and another Mr. Damodar Amonkar, a merchant, Prof. Laxmanrao Desai will be released shortly.

The following are the Goa leaders now in detention in the Fortress of Periche off the coast of Portugal after trial by military tribunal.

(1) Mr. Tristao Braganza Cunha, founder of the Goa Congress sentenced to 8 years; (2) Advocate Jose Inacio de Loyola sentenced to 4 years; (3) Purushottam Kakodkar, 9 years ; (4) Advocate Laxmikant Bhembre, 4 years and (5) Dr. Ram Hegde sentenced to 8 year.

Times of India, dated 9th September 1947

Independence Day in Goa: Greater Enthusiasm

Independence day celebrations in Goa greatly surpassed in brilliance and popular enthusiasm any where held here within living memory.

The lead in the celebrations was taken by the Consulate which perched on the top of the picturesque Pangim Hill was a blaze of lights on the nights of August 14-15. The words *Jai Hind* were displayed high above the facade of the multi-coloured electric lights.

The flag-hoisting at the Consulate on August 14 was an impressive ceremony It had been fixed for 9-30 a.m. but people from all over the country began streaming up the hill to the Consulate from early morning and gradually overflowed the compound of the building and the extensive grounds, surrounding it.

At 9-15 a.m. the Consul, Mr. R. A. Baig, and Mrs. Baig, appeared at the entrance of the Consulate and were lustily cheered by the assemblage and garlanded by the representatives of the Medical Student's Association, the Merchant's Chamber and other institutions. At 9-30 minute's silence was observed in memory of those who had sacrificed their lives in the struggle for independence. Mr. Baig then read the message received from

Pandit Nehru and after addressing the gathering in Hindi on the significance of that memorable day, hoisted the national flag amidst thunderous applause.

In the afternoon, Mr. and Mrs. Baig received His Excellency the Officiating Governor-General, the Chief Justice and other officials and numerous other persons who called at the Consulate to offer their congratulations. In the evening, they attended a party given in celebration of the day, by the Sindhi community and some local institutions.

Free Press Journal, dated 4th November 1947

GOA

Goa today is in the limelight and proposals and counter-proposals are being made as to its future. Goans are torn between loyalty to Mother India and attachment to "Foster Mother Portugal".

If Goa throws in its lot with Mother India, signs are not wanting to show that it will become an insignificant part of the provinces of Maharashtra or of the province of Karnatak, Kokan, etc.

Goans, while yielding to none, in their desire to see India great and prosperous, still would like to maintain their entity in views of Goa's glorious traditions which go back to Proto Dravidian times and also in view of its ties of varied types of comparatively recent times.

INDEPENDENT GOA

Therefore, amidst the welter of plans, propositions and blue-prints on Goa of self-styled leaders and interested parties, we suggest a solution. It may sound Utopian. Yet Danzig, Trieste, Monaco and Luxemburg are pointers which show that our solution is sensible and practicable.

Goa shall remain **INDEPENDENT**—preserving its cultural, social and religious entity by voting itself independent under the aegis of the United Nations Organisation.

We shall have the most cordial relations with our brothers in the Dominions of India and Pakistan, who are our immediate neighbours and to whom we bear a brotherly love and who can guarantee our independence in the roles of big brothers ; while, on the other hand, we shall not forget the Portuguese who in spite of their deeds of omission and commission, have also treated us as part of the body-politic of Metropolitan Portugal itself. Portugal will have no political domination over us at all, in whatsoever form, but we shall always welcome them on par with our fellow Indians, thus demonstrating our principles of Equality, Liberty and Fraternity, showing that we are all members of one world. Finally we have the example of the Vatican State itself. Did it not preserve its Independence in the turmoil of a World War and in spite of its being in the very midst of fighting and war horrors ?

CONSTITUTION

The Constitution of Goa will be formed by its people for its people. All Goans everywhere are requested to wake up and utilise their latent talents in bringing about this ideal and cherished aim. We are determined to put our trust in the U.N.O. to whose Secretariat a memorandum on the lines envisaged above, with our considered opinion and plans, is being forwarded. Goa shall be an acid test for this mighty Organisation. We are sure it is a fit case for the Trusteeship Council of the U.N.O.

Free Press Journal dated 6th November 1947.

Keep a Watch on the Happenings in Goa Youth League's Appeal to India.

Mr. Joachim Dias, President of the Goan Youth League, in a statement to the press urges the Government of India and the Government of Bombay " to keep a watchful eye on the happenings in Goa and take timely steps."

He says, " Although the situation obtaining in Goa today is but a trifle compared to the vast and serious problems confronting our national government, yet the implications of the recent happenings in Goa have a sinister bearing on the changing political pattern of India. The political and military manouevring of the Portuguese administration in Goa, if under-estimated shall inevitably lead the Indian Union to another major crisis.

" Outwardly, the following is the situation in Goa today :—

(1) 2,000 European and Negro troops have been brought into Goa as an addition to the existing 3,000. More and more American-made arms, ammunition and trucks are being constantly duped into Goa.

(2) One Portuguese cruiser is regularly moving between Goa and Diu.

(3) Open as well as concealed propaganda is carried on against the Indian Union calling it a Hindu state. On the other hand glowing tributes are showered on Pakistan, where, it is said, Goans in thousands will be absorbed in positions vacated by Hindu refugees.

(4) Propaganda for a so-called independent Goa within the Portuguese Commonwealth is being made as against the nationalist agitation for a free Goa within the Indian Union,

Concluding Mr. Dias says : " The Goan people have ancient and ' inalienable ties with the Indian Union of which they form a geographical entity. They have already shown their desire to be one with this ancient land and have in consequence suffered and are suffering for their aspirations." A.P.I.

National Standard, dated 13th November 1947.

Eyes on Goa

Though a prompt denial has been furnished by Lisbon the Nizam's plans with reference to Goa are plain. If relations with India are strained an outlet to the sea is highly necessary for preserving independence. The officials are not reticent and the story of the recent mission from London to Lisbon supports the belief that Portugal may liquidate its Indian interests rather eagerly. There is however the people's own interest in Goa. ; The reasoned denunciation of Portugal's record in Goa by Mrs. Vijaya-lakshmi Pandit gave rise to a hope that any negotiations between Portugal and the Nizam would be blocked. There have been stories of arras imports by way of Goa and the Nizam's Government may like to push a railway extension of the State railway if the Portuguese territory is passed on to its control. Of course, careless claims for Masulipatam have been treated either as irrelevant or fanciful and the Nizam's Government has fallen back on the theory of crossing the Gha-ts to reach the sea. So Portugal may readily seize a chance to get out with a profit and it is obvious that many precedents will be cited for the deal that may yet eventuate. The people of Goa should, however, be on guard against the possible aggrandisement of the Nizam. They must relate the happenings in Hyderabad to their own requirement of freedom like ours. India must be able to use something like a Monroe doctrine to prevent deals that are damaging to people in whose future we have a real interest.

The Nizam can bid high for, territory! that will give access to the seaport but India must insist that the right of self-determination shall not be ignored.: Apart from the danger to Karnataka an attempt to snatch trade from Bombay and Cochin may be made through unusual concessions on the Score that Hyderabad is the hinterland of Goa. There is a real danger that India's preoccupations will be taken advantage of but an *aide memoire* should be made available to the Hyderabad delegation on November 25 when it resumes negotiations. If Hyderabad concedes powers to the Union at least in respect of communications, the attempt to get a foothold on the coast must be obstructed deliberately and effectively.

Bombay Chronicle dated 8th December 1947

"Reformed" Constitution for Goa.

Portuguese Authorities Resort to Delaying Tactics

When the Goan movement was at its height the Portuguese Government promised new reforms. After some months they again invited some 17 influential Goans to discuss the draft proposals and it is more than four months since these invitees submitted their constitutional proposal to Government. The authorities are playing delaying tactics to outwit the nationalist forces and it now appears that in order to terrorise the people they have landed in Goa heavy armoured cars and other war material along with well equipped military personnel. Further, they are promulgating new ordinances suppressing the liberties of the people. Even the conservative-minded Goans has now lost faith in the Portuguese Government. As a last measure some two thousand influential persons have sent a well worded ultimatum asking the Government to announce their intention by 31st December 1947. This should open the eyes of Government and it is hoped that wisdom will prevail with the authorities concerned to read the signs of the times.

Sjt. Vasantrao Velinkar, who has been detained in Aguado Fort since June 1947, has now been charged with high treason and will be tried by the military court. Dr. Salazar, the Prime Minister of Portugal, in his recent address to the Portuguese Parliament said that the Central Government had decided to accede to legitimate demands and aspiration of Goans and that new political reforms would be announced shortly to that effect; but it appears that while such pious declaration are made by the head of the Portuguese Government to win over international goodwill, the Goan 'feurers' are still continuing their old methods of tyranny and trials by Courts-Martial. This has created a great stir in the public mind.

On account of unavoidable circumstances the publication of "Amacha Gomantak" had to be suspended. The public will be glad to learn that it will reappear from 20th December 1947.

NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA) BOMBAY BRANCH.

The following statement has been issued by Mr. P. P. Shirodkar, President of the National Congress (Goa).

Some unauthorised persons, both in Goa and outside, are found misusing the name of the National Congress (Goa) for their personal ends and acting in a manner prejudicial to the interest of the national organisation. Some are even writing articles in newspapers in the name of National Congress (Goa). As the representative character professed by these unauthorised persons creates confusion in the minds of the public in general

and Goans in particular, I on behalf of the National Congress (Goa), appeal to the public in general and Goans in particular, to consider only accredited workers and volunteers, who possess an authority letter from the president of the National Congress (Goa) as authorised persons to collect funds on behalf of this organisation. The National Congress (Goa) shall not be responsible for any unauthorised donations collected without a receipt from our present Hon. Treasurer, Dr. Vinayak Mayenkar.

Sjt. Vasant P. Borkar is our accredited representative in Bombay and the names of our representatives at other places will be announced shortly.

NATIONAL CONGRESS, GOA

An extra-ordinary meeting of the Executive of the National Congress (Goa) was held at Forbes Hall on Wednesday, 14th January 1948. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia addressing the meeting asked all Goa workers to take to serious constructive work amongst the people. "The day for heroic action in Goa has gone ; we are now at the constructive phase." He asked all Goans to rally round the National Congress, Goa and build up a mass organisation of the people. "It is important that you should realise that very soon you will be called upon to rule and govern yourselves". He asked Goans to think and act collectively.

GENERAL REPORT ON GOA

After an extensive tour of the Goa Frontiers, I have been able to contact almost all forces working for the liquidation of Portuguese rule in Goa. The recent large scale arrest in Goa, after the armed attempt of Goa terrorist on a bank bus and also the brutal repression on all Goa workers following this incident has brought an exodus of Goa workers out of Goa territory. Most Goa workers are today in Bombay, mainly due to the presence of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia in the City. A detailed report on the possibilities of action in Goa has been submitted to Dr. Lohia.

Then again I must report that a representative of the National Congress, Goa, Mr. Laxmandas was sent to Delhi last week and interviewed Mahatma Gandhi through Dr. Lohia. Our representative asked Gandhiji three questions in relation to Goa : —

(1) *What attitude should Goans take to the agitation recently started in Maharashtra by Shankarrao Deo and others that Goa should be integrated into Maharashtra. And also on the high level talks that Goa was going to be sold to the Nizam of Hyderabad.*—In reply Gandhiji made it clear that the Indian Constituent Assembly had accepted the principle of self-determination. So that the Goans would decide their future political status in the Indian Union uninterfered either by Maharashtra or Karnataka. In relation to the Nizam buying Goa the Indian Union would not allow such a transaction.

(2) *How should the Goan freedom fighters carry on their struggle against the Portuguese in the fact of fierce repression and persecution.*—Gandhiji after careful consideration advised all workers of Goa to start an intensified Satyagraha movement if they had the requisite forces. They should face bravely imprisonment, beatings and hardships. It did not matter if the Portuguese Government sent Goans to Mosambique and other far off penal settlements for 15 or 25 years. He asked the Goans to do their duty and leave the rest to the Indian Union. The Goa issue

would be immediately *taken* up by Jawaharlal Nehru. The question of the Portuguese settlements in India was delayed only because; the Foreign Minister had other very pressing problems on hand. If, however, Goa workers felt that; they did not have the strength to start mass action ; individual workers should go and work amongst the masses on a constructive programme that would help the people even if such work entailed that they will be arrested by the Portuguese Government.

(3) *What attitude should workers who did not believe in violence take towards all those who were carrying on a movement of sabotage and violence in Goa.*—Gandhiji advised that those who believed in violence should not be interfered with or criticised by other workers. They should be left alone to follow their line of action unmolested. He further advised all sincere believers in non-violence to be brave enough to openly work amongst the masses in Goa; even if in the process they were arrested, though they need not needlessly court arrest.

I must also report that certain people as announced in a A.P.I. message appearing in the 'Sunday News of India' of the 4th inst. said that Goan leaders were representing the National Congress, Goa to our Foreign Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and were going, " to discuss questions relating to Goa and other Portuguese Territories in India". The public must be warned that no Goan leaders have gone to Delhi to represent the National Congress, Goa to our Foreign Minister.

GEORGE VAZ,

Joint Secretary,

14th January 1948.

National Congress, Goa.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 31st March 1948

Goa Congress President Arrested

City of Goa : March 30 (I.P.A.); Dr. Jose Maria Furtado, President, National Congress (Goa) was arrested by the Police and taken to Police Headquarters of Margao. Inquiries made by Indian Press Association could not throw any light on his present whereabouts. However, political circles here presume that he has been removed to the Aguada Fortress.

Dr. Furtado asked by the Police Commandant to make a statement assumed full responsibility for the activities of National Congress (Goa), but however, he said he had nothing to do with the underground papers " O Militante " and " Jwala " it is learnt.

The Police have also arrested Devu Gonsavi, a peasant political worker Gonsavi has been responsible for creating political consciousness among the peasant of Ponda taluka where now exists great discontent against the Portuguese and the local landlords.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 2th May 1948

Goa Congress President to be Deported

City of Goa, May 25 (I.P.A.) : The Portuguese Minister for Colonies, Captain Tiofilo Duarte, has ordered Dr. Jose Maria Furtado, President, National Congress (Goa), to be deported immediately to the island of Cape Verde, off the coast the Portuguese West Africa. In Cape Verde

islands is located the notorious Portuguese concentration camp of Tarrafal,' known as " Gamp of Slow Death ", where many opponents of Salazar's regime are languishing. ,

Dr. Jose Maria Furtado is at present detained in the Aguada Fort in Goa and is expected to be sent to Cape Verde by the first available Portuguese steamer leaving Goa.

Bombay City—S.B.C.I.D.

June 20th. 1948.

NATIONAL CONGRESS, GOA

Under the auspices of the National Congress, Goa a public meeting of the Goa residents of Bombay was held at the Forbes Gujarati Hall, V. P. Road, on June 18th. Mr. George Vaz, Secretary of the National Congress, Goa (Socialist Group) occupied the chair and conducted the proceedings of the meeting. Messrs. Fernandez, Bhalerao, V. P. Desai, Bhirnrao Vartak and others made speeches explaining the significance of June 18th and exhorting the Goans to give a tough fight to the Portuguese till they left Goa and remain united. The meeting was attended by about 50 Goans and they all adopted a resolution to continue the freedom fight of Goa and offering their salutes to those who were in jail for the freedom. After the " Vande Matram" was sung Mr. Vaz declared the meeting was over.

Dr. Armando Menzes, then rose and requested the gathering to remain in the hall till the meeting convened by him on behalf of the National Congress Goa, was over. Mr. Vaz asked the audience to follow him and most of the audience left the place and only about 10 persons remained. However, the second meeting was addressed by one Mr. Waman Desai and a resolution supporting the freedom struggle of the Goans and saluting the freedom fighters of Goa was adopted and the second meeting was dissolved.

Bombay City, Special Branch, June 28th, 1948

Mr. George Vaz, Secretary of the National Congress, Goa in a statement to the press has appealed for monetary contributions to the Goa Political Prisoners Relief Fund, started by the National Congress Goa, Bombay. He states that the fund will be utilized for the relief of those political prisoners' families numbering about 800. He also reminds that two years completed on June 18th, when the struggle for self determination was started by the Goans in Goa.

Bombay City Special Branch, August 8th, 1948

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa), a public meeting was held at Sunderabai Hall, on August 8th to observe the Goa Day when about 500 persons attended and Mr. J. P. Lobo presided. Messrs. R. K. Karanja, Dinkar Desai and others addressed the gathering. A resolution demanding the release of the political prisoners and immediate withdrawal of the Portuguese from Goa and the establishment of a democratic form of Government on the basis of self determination was adopted unanimously. The resolution further requested the Government of India to help directly the Goans who are fighting for the freedom and to sever diplomatic relations with the Portuguese Government. The speakers said that the people of Goa must unite to bring about a revolution in Goa in order to protect their culture and to remain in Indian Union as a separate province to nourish that culture.

Report of the Goa meeting of 8th August 1948

Under the auspices of the National Congress, Goa Committee, a mass meeting was held at Sunderabai Hall, at 9-45 a.m. and ended at 12-45 p.m.

More than 500 people attended this meeting, 12 speakers delivered speeches, most of the speakers started in their own language but two-three spoke in English, they wanted to be free from Portuguese. They expressed to go to people to unite them. They alone could not achieve freedom. They wanted to be free as India. They wanted the help of Indian Union.

Secondly they wanted the Government of Bombay to release their political prisoners that had been arrested in Bombay.

The resolutions were also passed on these two points.

Sir,

The National Congress (Goa), Bombay Branch had called a mass meeting of Goans at Sunderabai Hall, Queen's Road, Bombay, at 5-30 p.m. on the 14th August 1948 to celebrate the Indian Independence Day. Long before the meeting was started leaflets under the signature of Messrs. George Vaz and Janardhan Sincro, Joint Secretaries, National Congress (Goa), Servants of India Society, Sandhurst Road, were distributed inside and outside the Sunderabai Hall representing themselves as the rightful representatives of the National Congress, Goa in Bombay and challenging the occurrences of the meeting which has been falsely convened in the name of the National Congress, Goa without any authority.

At 5-40 p.m. D'Silva the president of the National Congress Goa, one of the conveners, proposed Dr. Mascarenhas, the Mayor of Bombay, to the chair. The Mayor took the chair, unfurled the Indian National Flag and garlanded the photo of Mahatma Gandhi. Before the president called upon any of the speakers to address the meeting, Mr. George Vaz raised a point of order that the meeting was not convened by the representatives of the National Congress Goa and that the meeting should not go further as Mr. Raghuvir Kamat, a peasant worker of Goa who was on fast died that morning.

The President ruled out that the meeting was convened to celebrate the first anniversary of Indian Independence and the happenings in Goa cannot be taken into consideration and that it was not even a year since Mahatma Gandhi died and for that reason India did not stop celebrating its Independence and over-ruled the point of order.

At this Mr. Vaz and two other members from the audience wanted to raise more points of order but the president remarked that he will not entertain any more points of order, whereupon Mr. Vaz and about 20 more persons walked out of the meetings.

Then Rev. Father Mascarenhas conducted prayers in Sanskrit and Konkani, Messrs. L. L. D'Souza, B. B. Borkar, Priyolkar and Prof. Welinkar and Dr. Colaco addressed the meeting. They explained the importance of the day and stressed that the Goans should unite and fight for the independence of Goa. The independence of India is not complete unless Goa is free from foreign rule. The Honourable Mr. G. D. Vartak, Minister for Local Self-Government, also addressed the gathering on the political situation in India during the last one year, and stated that the Indian - Government had to face heavy odds during the period.

Goans and Independence Day

On this first anniversary of India's Independence Day, while saluting Mahatma Gandhi the father of our nation, martyred by the forces of reactionary communalism ; while saluting the countless heroes who laid down their lives that India may be free ; the National Congress (Goa) in view of the fact that Goa is being crushed by a Fascist and tyrannical Government and our freedom fighters and patriots lie dying in Goa jails having undertaken a fast unto death the disturbing but unconfirmed news of the death of Raghuvir Kamath, the peasant leader of Wazari village, in detention in view of this the National Congress (Goa) calls upon all Goans to observe Independence Day with fasting and prayer it being not appropriate for Goans to rejoice at such a juncture in the history of the province of Gomantak. Let us on this day ponder over the noble teachings of our great leader Mahatma Gandhi—of *Satya* and *Ahimsa* with which weapons India was forged into a nation and express our complete solidarity with the Indian Union.

While Goans are not celebrating Independence Day we find that certain individuals *viz.*, S. B. D'Silva and Vasant P. Borkar have convened a meeting at Sunderabai Hall on the 14th instant in the name of the National Congress (Goa). We are surprised to know that the Mayor of Bombay had consented to preside at this meeting. And after we had apprised him with the correct situation concerning the authority of D'Silva and Borkar to convene a meeting in the name of the National Congress (Goa) we are pleased to announce that Dr. Mascarenhas, the Mayor, has refused to preside over this function.

We, as the rightful representatives of the National Congress (Goa) in Bombay elected by the people, challenge this meeting which has been falsely convened in the name of the National Congress (Goa) which is a mass democratic organisation deriving its authority from the Goan people. We have requested Mr. S. B. D'Silva to cancel the meeting convened by them.

Recently at a mass meeting held at the Sunderabai Hall on 8th August 1948, in observation of Goa Day, the National Congress (Goa) has expressed its political stand of a democratic Government for Goa on the basis of self determination, the Indian Union being asked to intervene in Goa immediately and make the Portuguese fascists withdraw.

GEORGE VAZ,
JANARDHANA SINCRO,
Joint Secretaries.

National Congress (Goa),
Servants of India Society,
Sandhurst Road, Bombay-4,
14th August 1948.

No. 4/20, J. K. Building,
Gamdevi, Bombay No. 7.

The National Congress (Goa), Bombay Branch.

Telephone No. 41494.

Independence Day Meeting.

A mass meeting of Goans in Bombay will be held on Saturday, the 14th August 1948 at 5-30 p.m. (S.T.) at the Sunderabai Hall, near the

Central Government Offices, Queen's Road, to celebrate the First Anniversary of the Independence Day. His Worship the Mayor of Bombay has kindly consented to preside at this meeting.

AGENDA

1. (a) Introductory speech by the Chairman of the National Congress (Goa).
(b) Requesting His Worship the Mayor of Bombay, President (—elect) to occupy the Chair.
2. (a) Prayer by Fr. H. O. Mascarenhas.
(b) Reading of Independence Day Pledge.
3. Garlanding Mahatmaji's Photo.
4. Speeches by :
 1. Sjt. L. J. D'Souza.
 2. Prof. G. Moraes.
 3. Principal Welinkar.
 4. Sjt. Leon J. D'Souza.
 5. Dr. J. A. Colaco.
 6. Poet B. B. Borkar.
5. Presidential address and the following resolution to be moved from the Chair :—

We the people of Goa in meeting assembled this day at Sunderabai Hall, Bombay, offer our sincere felicitations to the Indian People upon this the First Anniversary of the attainment of Independence.

We, who are still in bondage, greet our brethren who are free. On the solemn occasion we renew our pledge of unwavering loyalty to our Mother Country and we look forward with eager hearts to the day when in equal freedom we shall be enabled to contribute to her greatness and Glory.

6. A vote of thanks by the Chairman, National Congress (Goa).
7. Singing of National Songs by Prof. Antsher Lobo and Party.
8. Vande-Mataram.

Jai-Gomantak.

Jai-Hind

Jai-Gomantak.

Bombay City, Special Branch, August 15th.

The National Congress (Goa) held a public meeting at Sunderabai Hall, on August 14th, when about 100 persons attended to celebrate the first anniversary of the Independence Day. Dr. Mascarenhas, the Mayor of Bombay, presided and unfurled the tricolour a flag. The President and Messrs. L. De'Souza, B. B. Borkar, Priyolkar, Prof. Welinkar and Dr. Colaco addressed the gathering exhorting them to support the present Government and to make Goa free from foreign yoke.

Before the commencement of the meeting, leaflets under the signatures of Messrs. George Vaz and Janardhan Sincro, Joint Secretaries, National Congress (Goa), Servants of India Society, Sandhurst Road, were distributed inside and outside Sunderabai Hall, announcing themselves as the rightful representatives of the National Congress (Goa) in Bombay and alleging that the meeting was not authoritatively called by Mr. D'Silva, the President of the National Congress (Goa). The President Dr. Mascarenhas explained that the meeting was called for the celebration of Independence Day and directed the demonstrators to sit. Mr. Vaz with his colleagues numbering about 20 walked out and meeting was over peacefully.

2. Similar meeting in celebration of the Independence Anniversary was held at Saboo Siddik Hall, Shepherd Road, Nagapada, on August 14th when about 200 Indian Christians attended and Mr. S. L. Silam presided, Messrs. K. L. Shinde, J. S. Williams, D. R. Chavan, S. M. Suryavanshi, Jaswantsingh and Miss Florence Show addressed the audience urging the Christians to come forward and strengthen the hands of the Nehru Government.

National Standard, dated 4th August 1948

"Goa Day" on August 8

The National Congress (Goa), functioning in Bombay, will observe August 8 as " Goa Day " to express " solidarity with the popular movement in Goa for democratic rights."

An appeal to Goans in Bombay issued by the National Congress, (Goa) urged that on that day the Goans must " call upon our Government at New Delhi to intervene in Goa and have no diplomatic exchanges with Portugal unless our political prisoners kept as hostages at Peneche Islands in Portugal are brought back." A demand for the immediate release of political workers lodged in Goa jails should also be made, adds the appeal.

Bombay City, Special Branch, September 12th

Messrs. Waman Desai and S. F. De Mello, ex-treasurers of the National Congress, Goa, who were dismissed from their posts by the Congress, held a meeting restricted to the card-holders only, at Cama Hall, on September 12th to elect the office-bearers of their Party. Dr. Juliao Menezes presided and about 25 persons attended.

During the course of the meeting, Mr. George Vaz, the Joint-Secretary of the National Congress, Goa who had come to attend the meeting without admission card, was refused admission by the president Dr. Juliao Menezes. As there seemed a likelihood of trouble between their groups, the Palton Road Police were summoned and the non-members dispersed peacefully.

Bombay City, Special Branch, September 12th

Messrs. Vishwanath Lawande and Mario Rodrigues, two wellknown workers of the Goa Freedom Struggle were accorded a reception at a public meeting held under the auspices of the National Congress, Goa, at Blavatsky Lodge, on September 8th. Mr. L. J. De Souza presided and Messrs. J. P. Lobo, D. V. Amonkar, Peter Alvares, Dr. Bhembre and Dr. G. N. Lawande addressed the audience of about 150 persons, eulogising the services of the two guests for the freedom of Goa from the foreign yoke. In reply Messrs. Lawande and Rodrigues explained to the audience the political situation of Goa and the " Divide and Rule " policy adopted by the Portuguese Government.

A purse containing about Rs. 600 was presented by the President on behalf of the Goans in Bombay.

13th September 1948.

Returned with compliments

2. On August 8th 1948, the National Congress (Goa) held a public meeting at Sunderabai Hall, in celebration of the " Goa Day ". Advocate J. P. Lobo presided and Messrs. R. K. Karanjia (Editor—*Blitz*), Dinkar Desai (Trade Unionist) and others made speeches. About 500 persons attended.

The report that " the trend of the speeches on the occasion clearly shows that Goa day was exploited by Communists and there is an impression amongst well-informed persons that the agitation has been well-timed to create trouble for the Nehru Government," is only imaginary. Neither Mr. J. P. Lobo, nor Mr. R. K. Karanja or Mr. Dinkar Desai is a Communist. There is also no truth in the report that the Catholic Actionists " who are actually collaborators of the Portuguese Government are acting under the instructions of the Church in joining hands with the Communist saboteurs and bitter enemies of the Nehru Government in order to discredit the Congress Government and involve it in difficulties by raising the Goa issue when Sardar Patel is absorbed in handling the Kashmir and Hyderabad issues ".

4. There are two parties in the National Congress (Goa). One is led by Messrs. De Silva, B. B. Borkar and J. P. Lobo and the other is led by Messrs. George Vaz, Janardhana Sincro and both the parties are trying to capture in Congress and hence this criticism against the other party in the report.

Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

Free translation of a News Item appearing in the Urdu Daily *Khilafat*, dated 18th April 1949.

Congress Propaganda in Portuguese Goa

Bombay, 16th April :—The Portuguese Goa Congress Committee, whose office is in Bombay since the last two years has resolved, that in order to resume the fight of Independence in Portuguese Goa for the second time and in order to make necessary arrangements for this struggle to convene a meeting of all the Congressmen of Goa at Belgaum, under the auspices of the Goa National Congress on June 4 and 5. A decision to call this conference was taken at Belgaum on April 9 and 10 by the Congress Workers of Goa.

D.O. No. 2734/9/P-S.

New Delhi. May 24, 1949.

My dear Bedekar,

I enclose an extract from the "Khilafat" of Bombay, dated the 18th April entitled " Portuguese Goa Congress Propaganda". This had been brought to the notice of the Prime Minister by the Portuguese Legation in Delhi. Would you kindly let me know for the Prime Minister's information whatever facts are available to the Bombay Government regarding the Portuguese Goa Congress and its alleged decision to wage a war of freedom in Goa ?

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) H. V. R. Iengar.

Shri G. V. Bedekar, I.C.S.

Extract—From " Khilafat "—Bombay, dated 16th April 1949.

Portuguese Goa Congress Propaganda

(Expansion)

Bombay, 16th April.

The Portuguese Goa Congress, which has been functioning for the last two years in Bombay, have decided to wage again a war of freedom and for this purpose proper arrangements are being made.

Under the auspices of the Goa National Congress a Conference of all the Congress members of Goa is to be held in Belgaum on the 4th and 5th June. This resolution was passed in the meeting held on the 9th and 10th April by the Goa Congress Working Committee.

H.D. (Spl.) (I).

As desired by Secretary, the D. M., Belgaum, has already been asked to report to Government whether it is correct that Goa Congress proposes to convene a Session of the Congress at Belgaum on the 4th and 5th June 1949 and if so to state who the organisers of the Session are and what its aims and objects are. The report when received will facilitate to reply to the D. O. letter received from the Secretary of the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs. We may therefore await the report from the District Magistrate, Belgaum.

It will be seen from the report from the *Khitafat* of 18th August 1949 that the Portuguese Goa Congress has been functioning for the last two years in Bombay. Mr. Moray may therefore be asked u. o. immediately to furnish us whatever facts regarding Portuguese Goa Congress are available and if its alleged decision to wage a war of freedom in Goa. As Home Minister desires to discuss this matter with Secretary on 2nd June 1949, Mr. Moray may be asked to treat the case as immediately and furnish the information not later than 1st June 1949.

G.M. 30/5/49.

Secy. U.O.R. to Mr. Moray, dated 30th May 1949.

Confidential:

Special Branch (I), C.I.D., Bombay,

IMMEDIATE :

31st May 1949.

Returned with compliments

2. The Portuguese Goa Congress under reference is the National Congress (Goa), which was formed in the early part of the year 1946 and had its office at Londa. Mr. Laxmikant Bhembre, a pleader from Goa was its president. During the Satyagraha Movement of 1946 for the Civil Liberties in Goa he was convicted and sentenced to undergo 9 years' rigorous imprisonment. Soon after his arrest the office of the Congress was shifted to Bombay, and is known as the Bombay Branch of the National Congress (Goa) from November 1946. The office of this Bombay Branch is situated at present at J. K. Building No. 4/20, Gamdevi, Bombay. The following are its present office-bearers :—

President	Mr. S. B. DeSilva, M.A., LL.B., Advocate.
General Secretary	Mr. Vasant P. Borkar.
Assistant Secretary	Mr. Vaikunth V. Narvekar.
Hon. Treasurer	Mr. Kashinath Shivram Lad.

3. Recently an attempt was made to bring together people from different parties on a common platform and a provisional committee consisting of the following persons has been formed with a view to hold the First Session of the National Congress (Goa) at Belgaum on the 4th and 5th June 1949.

1. Mr. S. B. DeSilva, M.A., LL.B., Advocate.
2. Mr. K. S. Lad.
3. Mr. V. P. Borkar.

4. Mr. V. V. Narvekar.
5. Dr. Julao Menezes.
6. Dr. Eric De Mellow.
7. Mr. Vaman Narayan Desai.
8. Dr. (Miss) De Cunah.
9. Mr. S. S. Lad.
10. Mr. H. Priyolkar.
11. Mr. C. C. Mendes.
12. Dr. P. G. Jambawalikar.

Dr. P. G. Jambawalikar has been elected Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Session at Belgaum and Mr. S. B. DeSilva, M.A.,LL.B., Advocate, Bombay, as the President of the Session.

4. The object of the National Congress (Goa) as laid down in the Draft Constitution as approved by provisional Working Committee is the attainment, through peaceful means, of freedom from foreign rule and the entry of Goa into the Indian Union on the basis of self-determination. The object of the Conference appears to be to organise and consolidate all nationalist forces inside and outside Goa for the purpose of liberating Goa and integrating it into the Indian Union but the following items would be placed before the open Session for vital consideration:—

(1) Shall Goa merge with the contiguous district of the Province of Bombay ?

(2) Shall Goa merge with any one of the projected linguistic provinces of Maharashtra, Karnatak, Konkan?

(3) Shall Goa remain an autonomous unit within the frame work of the Indian Union ?

4. There is no move on the part of the organisation of the Conference to launch immediate struggle but it is an attempt to revitalise the moral and economic fibre of the Goan people in Goa through constructive programme as laid down by Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the Indian Nation and thereby to equip the people of Goa to resist Portuguese aggression when the movement of Goa's liberation commences.

5. Copies of the resolutions and the draft Constitution (together with the manifesto of the work and aims of the National Congress (Goa) to be adopted at the Conference are attached herewith for ready reference.

Dy. Commissioner of Police,
Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

Goa Congress Demands Exit of Portugal

5th June 1949.

Belgaum, June 4.

Mr. S. B. D'Silva, presiding over the National Congress of Goa which commenced here today, demanded that " the Portuguese should unconditionally quit Goa which is part and parcel of India".

Mr. D'Silva added: " We earnestly urge upon the people of India to press upon their Government to take in hand the problem of Goa. Goan people are Indians first and last and all time and never Portuguese ".

Welcoming the declaration of the Indian National Congress that no foreign pockets would be tolerated on the Indian soil, Mr. D'Silva hoped that the Government and people of India would help the unarmed Goan people in their struggle.

The two-day session of the Congress met in an atmosphere of disappointment and resentment, on the eve of the session news was received here from Goa that passengers bound for Belgaum were arrested by the Portuguese Government on the suspicion that some of them were delegates to the conference. (A.P.I.).

National Standard, dated 2nd June 1949

Goa Congressmen to Meet on June 18

Never during the 430 years of Portuguese rule in Goa were the people so oppressed as they were today, said Mr. George Vaz, Secretary of the National Congress of Goa, in a statement in Bombay on Wednesday, says U.P.I.

Mr. Vaz added that the National Congress of Goa, which had always **stood** for merger with India, was fast losing its hold on the masses, who were now veering round to the idea of an autonomous state. This was the direct consequence of the disillusionment which had come to them, because of the broken promises of Indian leaders who before India's freedom had always asserted that they would solve the question of Foreign Settlement immediately after they came to power, he declared.

Mr. Vaz said that a meeting of Goans political workers would be called in Bombay on June 18 to review the Goa question " *de novo* ".

National Standard, dated 6th June 1949

Goa's Place In Indian Union

Belgaum, June 5.

The plenary session of the Goa National Congress today unanimously adopted a resolution stating that Goa " has no place but in the bosom of the motherland of the Indian Union " and that Goans desire to cast off for ever the " yoke of the foreigner " so that they may be free to shape their destiny within the Indian Union.

The resolution, declared that " Goans are one with the people of India and Goa considered geographically, ethnically, economically and culturally forms an integral part of India. "

The two-day session concluded today.

By another resolution the Goa Congress endorsed the declaration of the Jaipur Congress that " these foreign possessions be politically incorporated in India ".

Bombay Chronicle, dated 8th June 1949

No Direct Action by Goa Congress

D'Silva's Plea for Indict's Aid

Belgaum, June 6 (API) : Mr. S. B. D'Silva, President of the Goa National Congress stated here today that with the help of the people of India, Goans hoped to fulfil their aspirations and share their future with Indians. The immediate task of the Congress, he declared, was to impress upon the people of India the urgency for solving the problem of Goa.

Mr. D'Silva said that copies of resolutions adopted by the Goa National Congress at Belgaum would be shortly forwarded to the External Affairs Ministry, Government of India, the Indian National Congress and the Portuguese Government.

In reply to a question, Mr. D'Silva stated that he did not envisage the possibility of any direct action by the Goa Congress and added : " Our hope lies in Indian people and their Government. We believe if Government of India and the Indian people take up the problem of Goa seriously, it will be solved without violence or bloodshed."

Dated 15th June 1949

Goans Protest

The Central Committee of the Goan People's Party commenting on the recent declaration of the Portuguese Government from Lisbon which announced the firm determination of the Portuguese to retain Goa and maintain Portuguese sovereignty in Portuguese India has issued the following statement:—

The Central Committee of the Goan People's Party unequivocally condemns the imperialist and intolerant utterances of the Portuguese Government which smacks of brutal dictatorship and feudal fascist arrogance it was already amply clear that its so-called progressive declaration that Goa, Daman and Diu will in future be Portuguese overseas provinces and not Portuguese colonies was a big fraud and a hoax. Every Goan knows much to his resentment that constitutional elevation from Portuguese colony to Portuguese province does not and cannot make any material difference to the starving masses of Goa.

The Portuguese Government is emboldened to reiterate its decision to own Goa, immediately after the Goa National Congress Conference which shows that the Conference was a mild and tame affair and that it did not rouse enthusiasm in the Goan masses. The Central Committee of the Goan People's Party urge every Goan to protest against the insolent attitude of the Portuguese military-fascist rulers and exhorts them to rally round the Goan People's Party which embraces most of the militant sections of the Goan people and which would lead the Goan masses to liberation.

Central Committee Goan People's Party.

National Standard, dated 22nd June 1949.

Move to start Civil Struggle in Goa

A decision to organise the Goan people for a struggle to end for ever the rule of Portugal over Goa and establish in Goa People's Democratic State which would introduce widespread land reforms that would give immediately relief to the starving peasantry was taken at the first political conference of the Goan People's Party which has just concluded.

The Conference which reviewed the latest political situation in the Portuguese Goa in all its aspects called upon the Goan people to unite and put an end to the tyranny of Portugal over Goa.

In a statement to the Press after the conclusion of the conference Mr. George Vaz, General Secretary of the People's Party, described the harrowing tales of suffering of the Goan people under the Portuguese rule.

" The people of Goa groaning under the top-heavy administration of a feudal clerical state, are driven to starvation and poverty and hundreds of the peasantry are forced to leave their fields and villages and migrate to the neighbouring territories to find the barest necessities of life ". Mr. Vaz added, " Goan emigrants in cities like Bombay are also facing mass unemployment due to influx of refugees from Sind and the Punjab and to certain governmental legislation". U.P.I.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 27th June 1949

Indian citizen tortured to Death in Goa Prison

National Congress Chief's Demand for Enquiry

Bombay, Sunday.

Mr. Waman Desai, General Secretary of the National Congress of Goa today called upon the Government of India to institute an inquiry immediately into the death of Mr. Deshpande, an Indian citizen who was under detention in Goa. Mr. Desai alleged that Mr. Deshpande had been beaten to death by the police in Panjim Jail, Goa.

In a statement issued here today, Mr. Desai said : " Mr. Deshpande, who was detained without trial in Goa for the last one year in connection with the Mapuca Treasury Raid Case, was removed two weeks ago from Marmagoa prison to Panjim jail where the Police tried to extract from him information regarding the raid on Canacona military post on June 6. Failing to get any information out of him, the police beat him so severely. that he died on the spot".

It added : " Police have been maintaining complete secrecy about it and the body has not yet been handed over to the parents of the deceased."

Free Press Journal, dated 4th July 1949

Portuguese Acrobatics

The nervousness of the Portuguese Government in face of the happenings in French India was evident in a Press Note they issued last week. The Goan Association of Bombay which apparently is a rival organisation of the National Congress (Goa) had issued a statement charging the latter's president, Mr. S. B. De Silva that he was not a Goan national and as such, he could not make any claim or demands (merger of Goa with Indian Union) either on his own behalf or on behalf of the Goan people. The statement said that during the British Raj, he changed his nationality and became a British Subject. The Portuguese Government who are desperately in search of some plank in the midst of the rolling waves have seized at the above statement and come out with the Press Note to show to the world what the world would never be able to see. If, as they say, the Portuguese Government really find themselves in an awkward position as to making out which of these two organisations is more representative, why don't they allow the people of Goa to form an organisation in Goa itself? The complete absence of civil liberties in Goa has driven the people to organise themselves into some sort of associations outside. The time is fast approaching when the Portuguese Government will have to face realities.

PURUSHOTTAM GAONKAR.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 4th August 1949

Goa's Fight for Freedom

Vaz on Need for "Grim Determination"

Bombay, August 3 (U.P.I.) : "Portugal means to cling to her possessions in India and the Goan People have come to realise that it is only through grim determination and bitter struggle that the liberation of Goa can be achieved", says Mr. George Vaz, General Secretary of the Goa People's Party in a statement to the press.

Mr. Vaz adds : "While the Government of India talks of solving the problem of Goa through peaceful methods and on a Governmental level, the Portuguese Government continues to brandish their mailed fist in the face of India and insolently, talks of blood and warfare. Reports from Lisbon say that 10,000 more troops are to be sent to Goa, the first contingent having already arrived in Bombay on the way to Goa.

Sir,

A public meeting was held at Cama Hall at 7-10 p.m. under the auspices of National Congress, Goa, to celebrate the 3rd anniversary of the Congress on 18th August 1949.

Mr. Joachim Alva presided over the meeting and about 40 people attended. Mr. Joachim Alva, Mr. C. B. D'Silva, Mr. Waman Rao Desai, Dr. Furtado, Mr. T. Mascarenhas and De Mellow spoke at the meeting.

Mr. Joachim Alva assured the people of Goa that they wanted to get all moral support from those outside Goa in the struggle for freedom from foreign domination. He asked them to be united to achieve their goal. All others expressed the confidence that if Goans carried their agitation on constitutional lines, they would gain their freedom and appealed to stand firmly.

The meeting terminated at 8-20 p.m. after a national song.

A copy of the resolution is submitted herewith.

NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA)

RESOLUTIONS

A plenary Session of the National Congress (Goa) was held at the Gitabai Herekar Hall, Belgaum, on Saturday, the 4th and Sunday, 5th of June 1949. The following resolutions were passed unanimously.

(1) The National Congress (Goa) solemnly pays its reverence to the father of the Indian Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, of sacred memory. The Mahatma had given impetus to our freedom movement by lending it his moral support and guidance by exposing the mis-rule prevailing not only in Goa but also in other Portuguese possessions which facts are hereby placed on record with a deep sense of gratitude,

The resolution was put from the Chair and was passed ail standing.

(2) This Session of the National Congress (Goa) resolves that the printed draft constitution and the manifesto of aims and objects placed before the house be and is hereby adopted.

(3) This Session resolves that the delegates who have been elected by the various territorial units constituencies be and are hereby regarded as duly elected representatives in terms of the relative clauses in that behalf of the Constitution just adopted.

(4) This Session resolves the elections held and all acts and transactions done under the authority of the provisional Working Committee be and are hereby ratified as though these had been done under the provisions of the Constitution just adopted.

(5) This Session of the National Congress (Goa) hereby places on record the indignant protest of the Goan people at the action of the Portuguese authorities in detaining all outward bound passengers from Goa at the frontiers on the suspicion that there might be delegates among them coming to this assembly.

(6) The National Congress (Goa) expresses its gratitude to the Indian National Congress, the premier political institution of the country, for having extended their full moral support to our struggle for independence from time to time and to the Government of India for having championed our cause before the United Nations Organization and to all other political institutions who supported our cause. We cannot complete this expression of thanks without placing on record our sense of gratitude to the initiator of our movement Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, who inspired the people of Goa to stand united and resist bravely the oppressive and fascist regime of the Portuguese in the vindication of the fundamental human rights.

(7) The National Congress (Goa) gratefully pays homage to all those gallant men and women who sacrificed and fought even at the cost of their lives for the liberation of Goa from the yoke of the Portuguese and also to those who served this cause in various ways since the Portuguese aggression against Goa.

(8) This National Congress (Goa) places on record its deep appreciation of the valour and spirit of sacrificed envinced by our satyagrahis who have been cruelly incarcerated by the Portuguese Government at Peniche and Aguada Forts, for having given great impetus to the struggle for freedom.

(9) The National Congress welcomes the following resolution of the Jaipur Session of the Indian National Congress and offers the Congress its sincere thanks for the same :

" The chequered course of India's history during the last two hundred years or more has left certain foreign possessions in various parts of the country. These foreign possessions continued for this long period because India herself was under alien domination.

With the establishment of independence in India, the continued existence of any foreign possession in India becomes anomalous and opposed to the conception of India's unity and freedom. Therefore it has become necessary for those possessions to be politically incorporated in India and no other solution can be stable or lasting or in conformity with the will of the people. The Congress trusts that these changes will be brought about soon by peaceful methods and friendly co-operation of the Government concerned. The Congress realises that during the long period, administrative, cultural, educational and judicial systems have grown up in these foreign possessions which are different from those prevailing in the rest of India. Any change over therefore must take these factors into consideration and allow for a gradual adjustment which will not interfere with the life of the areas concerned. The Congress would welcome the present cultural heritage of these possessions to be continued in so far as the people

of these possessions desire and for a measure of autonomy to be granted wherever possible, so as to enable the people of these possessions to maintain their culture and institutions within the larger frame work of free India."

(10) Considering that Goa geographically, ethnically, economically and culturally forms an integral part of India.

Considering that from the earliest times Goa has shared with the rest of India a great and glorious civilization with a distinct individuality which her people seek to preserve and develop unhindered.

Considering that during four hundred and thirty-nine years of political domination over our people, the Portuguese have blighted our manhood and by suppressing freedom of thought, freedom of association and freedom of expression, have reduced us to moral and spiritual bankruptcy.

Considering that during the period they have neglected to develop the natural resources of our country, resorted to flogging the Satyagrahis and sentencing them to long terms of deportation with a view to suppressing the legitimate rights, failed to promote industry and commerce, sapped the very vitals of our economic life, and allowed our ancient prosperity to dwindle and decay until our towns and villages stand deserted and our fields lie fallow, because our people have been forced to emigrate in search of livelihood.

Considering that the Portuguese during this period have brought the sanctity of Christianity into disrepute by using the institutions of her authorities, bidding her missionaries to bring their faith not their ways, to impose an unnatural way of life upon our people, rejecting their customs and manners instead of preserving these in their integrity and thereby denationalize our people in order to strengthen a foreign domination.

Considering that to-day every peaceful means is denied, our people are awakening themselves and arising to the height of their natural dignity, and every peaceful attempt to vindicate their elementary human rights and liberties is met by brutal and violent repression.

Considering that while their fellow-countrymen in the rest of India have already achieved freedom and independence and that in the context of the Charter of the United Nations Organization and the declaration of human rights every day that passes brings home to our people their degradation under the heel of a foreign fascist imperialism.

This plenary session of the National Congress (Goa) correctly interpreting the anxious aspirations of the people hereby declare that Goans are one with the People of India, bone of their bone, flesh of their flesh, that Goa has no place but in the bosom of the Motherland, and her people desire to cast off forever the yoke of the foreigner so that we may be free to vindicate the elementary democratic right of self determination and shape their future destiny within the Indian Union.

And this session of the National Congress (Goa) appeals to the Government of India and the Indian National Congress, the mouth-piece of the Indian People to stand by the people of Goa in this hour of their need and activity to support their struggle for independence and democracy.

(11) The National Congress (Goa) has full faith in the efficacy of the constructive programme as laid down by Mahatma Gandhi in

preparing the moral and economic fibre of the masses, their spirit of resistance and their ability to make full use of freedom when it comes. The National Congress (Goa) therefore directs the workers to lay more stress on the constructive programme and appeals to the Goan People to extend their all round support and co-operation to the same.

(12) This session of the National Congress (Goa) strongly condemns the barbaric methods of the Portuguese Government of the people to demand their fundamental civil liberties.

(13) The National Congress (Goa) calls upon the people of Goa scattered all over India and abroad to awaken from their four hundred years of lethargy and to close their ranks firmly behind the National Congress.

We extend our moral support to all who in Portugal and her colonies are righting for fundamental human rights and we tender to them our sympathy and co-operation in their struggle which is ours also.

(14) The National Congress (Goa) solemnly calls upon the people of Goa to consent under no circumstances to the holding of any plebiscite on the question whether the Portuguese shall remain or quit. Seeing that in the recent elections for the presidency of Portugal, the authorities did not scruple to prostitute the great democratic principle of the vote unnecessarily and even when one of the two candidates had withdrawn, it is quite clear that so long as the Portuguese are in Goa the people will never have any real freedom of choice.

(15) The National Congress (Goa) being bound by the creed and policy of *Ahimsa* and thus being necessarily opposed to the adoption of violent methods in achieving political ends, insists that, those who may have used such methods under the stress of ardent patriotism should be treated and dealt with as political prisoners.

In accordance with this principle the National Congress (Goa) condemns the Portuguese authorities in detaining Sjt. D. A. Deshpande, Mukund Kamat, Prabhakar Saini, Narain Naik, Jaivant Kunde and ill-treating them for the last two years.

(16) This session takes cognizance of the following facts placed before the house:

That the tenants agriculturists of Mayem and Ozorm are the true owners of the land they cultivate according to law and that certain landlords are denying them their rights ; that inspite of lengthy litigation they are defeated of their just rights by the said landlords with the help of the Government; that in particular the Civil Liberties movement of 1946 has been used as a weapon to imprison the spokesmen of the cultivators Sjt. Shetye, Fati Naik, Raguvir Kamat, and five others and that these have been falsely indicted and sentenced to lengthy terms of deportation that in their absence their houses have been allowed to be looted and destroyed and that their families and relatives are being oppressed.

This house extends its full sympathy and support to the cultivators and their leaders and hereby directs the Working Committee to take all steps necessary to ascertain the facts in detail and take suitable action as may be necessary.

(17) It is the unanimous wish of this session that the next session shall be held at London.

National Standard, dated 18th August 1949.

Liberation of Goa from Foreign Rule

Congress Manifesto.—The National Congress of Goa, initiated by the Socialist leader, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, which has taken upon itself the task of attainment through peaceful means of freedom from foreign rule and the entry of Goa into the Indian Union on the basis of self-determination, has in a manifesto explained its aims and activities envisaging the national struggle in Goa.

The immediate aim of the movement that the National Congress of Goa has launched is to liberate Goa from the "Fascist" foreign domination, the manifesto states. But basically the aim of the movement is to create a new Goa, where every single Goan would be a worthy and happy citizen who tries to acquire the dignity of full democracy and is willing to live and die for the greatness of the motherland.

The National Congress of Goa intends immediately to examine the whole economic and financial structure of Goa and to address itself to the task of maintaining the administration within the limits of available revenue.

The next task, according to the manifesto, would be to exploit the economic resources of the country, which under the present Portuguese Government are completely ignored.—U.P.I.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 19th August 1949.

Moral support to struggle in Goa

Pledge At City Meeting

Bombay, Thursday.

Presiding over the third anniversary of the formation of National Congress (Goa) which was celebrated at a meeting held at Cama Hall Bombay, today, Mr. Joachim Alva, the Sheriff of Bombay, assured the people of Goa that they would get all moral support from those outside Goa in their struggle for freedom from foreign domination. He asked them to shed their timidity and fear and stand united to achieve their goal.

The Sheriff said that it was a fact that the administration of Goa was corrupt and inefficient. He had seen the malpractices of the Government officials when he paid a brief visit to Goa sometime ago. As much as 80 per cent of the revenues was spent on the officials, only 7 per cent was spent on providing amenities to the people. Such a Government, Mr. Alva said, had no right to rule over the people of Goa and they should quit the country as early as possible. People of Asia were marching ahead and it would be better on the part of the present Portuguese Government of Goa to read the signs of the times.

Mr. Alva expressed his confidence that if Goans carried their agitation on constitutional lines they would gain their freedom. The Sheriff, in conclusion appealed to all the Goans to support and stand behind the agitation.

Earlier, Mr. S. B. D'Silva, the President of the National Congress, welcomed the Sheriff and said that foreign rule has outlived its usefulness and purpose. He said that they were Indians first and last.

Appealing to the Goans to shed their timidity and fears, Mr. D'Silva expressed the hope that in spite of hardships and having to fight from outside Goa, they would achieve their goal.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), August 20th.

Under the auspices of the National Congress Goa a public meeting (40) was held at Cama Oriental Hall on August 18th to celebrate the 3rd anniversary of the National Congress Goa, Mr. Joachim Alva, the Sheriff of Bombay presiding. The President and Messrs. S. B. D'Silva, Waman Rao Desai, Dr. Furtado, T. Mascarenhas and De'Mellow addressed the gathering. The President said that the struggle of Freedom of Goa was a matter of great importance for the people of Goa, and assured them that they would get all moral support from those outside Goa in their struggle for Freedom from Foreign Domination. All the other speakers appealed to the Goans to unite and strengthen themselves to achieve their objects.

The following resolutions were passed at the meeting : —

- (i) Calling on the Portuguese Government to quit Goa.
- (ii) Expressing its gratitude to the Indian National Congress, the premier political institution of the country, for having extended their full moral support to the people of Goa in their struggle for independence.
- (iii) Considering that Goa geographically, ethnically, economically and culturally forms an integral part of India.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 25th August 1949.

Goa Congress Leaders to meet Nehru

Bombay, Wednesday A deputation of the representatives of the National Congress Goa will wait on the Prime Minister of India, and other officials of the External Affairs Department by the middle of next month to apprise them with the latest situation in the Portuguese Goa, the United Press of India learns here today.

The National Congress at a meeting of its Working Committee in Bombay yesterday prepared a comprehensive memorandum dealing with the situation in Goa and the demands of the Goan people to be submitted to the Government of India.

It is further understood that the National Congress will discuss the Goa situation with Mr. K. P. S. Menon, Minister Plenipotentiary of the Government of India in Portugal who is expected to visit Goa next month to make a first hand study of the situation there before proceeding to Portugal in October next.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 25th August 1949.

Goa Congress Memorandum to Union Government

Bombay August 24, (U.P.I.) : A comprehensive memorandum dealing with the present situation in Portuguese Goa and laying down the various demands of the Goans people was sent to the Government of India in the External Affairs Department and to Mr. K. P. S. Menon, the newly appointed Minister Plenipotentiary of the Government of India in Portugal today, by the National Congress Goa, the United Press of India learns here.

The memorandum is understood to have expressed its opposition against any referendum on the question whether the Portuguese should go or remain in view of the severe repression of civil liberties prevailing there and the apprehension of manipulation of votes by the Portuguese authorities which would make a free and impartial verdict of any referendum impossible.

The National Congress further stressed in its memorandum for the setting up a constituent assembly by a general election on adult franchise to frame a constitution for the future administration of the country in harmony with the Indian constitution and within the framework of the Indian Union. This assembly would decide and define the future status of Goa in the Indian Union in respect of merger, incorporation of autonomy. In the election of the constituent assembly the Congress demanded that the Goans living outside Goa should have to vote equally with those living in Goa.

The National Congress referred to the "much uneasiness even among the nationalist minded" in regard to the future of Goa following the departure of the Portuguese and urged for a public declaration of the Government of India's " intentions". The Congress pledges that a Goan constituent assembly will be set up to frame a constitution for internal administration and that the Government of India will accept its verdict as to the future status of Goa in the Indian Union will go a long way towards strengthening the will of the people, the memorandum stated.

Bombay Secret Abstract of 3rd September 1949.

The Goa National Congress convened a meeting (40) at Bombay on August 18th under the presidency of Mr. Joachim Alva. Resolutions were adopted (1) calling on the Portuguese to quit Goa, (2) expressing gratitude to the Indian National Congress for supporting the Goans struggle and (3) declaring that Goa was a part of India.

National Standard, dated 23rd September 1949

Goans are for joining India, says Leader

Belgaum, September 21.

Dr. P. G. Jambawalikar, President of the Belgaum Committee of the National Congress (Goa) asserted today that the Goans wanted to become citizens of India.

Dr. Jambawalikar was referring to the reported collection of over 9,000 which he said was done " under official pressure for an expression of loyalty to the Portuguese Government. " He said that the Portuguese Government had become restless over the Goans " Quit India" demand.—P.T.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 26th September 1949.

Comedy in Goa

A news from Goa states that 10,000 persons have sent a representation to the Government affirming their loyalty to the Portuguese nation and soliciting permission to hold a meeting.

In my capacity as President of the Bombay Committee of National Congress (Goa), I have to say that in Goa, Daman and Diu there is no civil liberty nor is there freedom of assembly or association. There is only liberty to convene pro-government meetings. It is known to all, however, that the Government through the district administrators, regedores and other officials has succeeded in collecting signatures, through the exercise of pressure, to a declaration stating that the people wish to remain under the Portuguese flag.

Nothing is easier than to ascertain the truth. Let a plebiscite be held, all the political prisoners being previously released, the troops withdrawn, civil liberties restored, and freedom to vote according to ones convictions being assured. Only thus will it be possible to find out the truth.

Everything else, is but a farce, which convinces nobody and which affects nobody. For the National Congress (Goa) can bring forward 25000 persons to contradict the statement made by the Government of Goa.

National Standard, dated 4th October 1949

Goans' Future

Sir,

Dr M U. Mascarenhas and Mr. S. S. Kavalekar, through local. newspapers, made an appeal to Bombay Goans to attend a meeting to discuss Goans' future and expressly state that the meeting would discuss the question in a non-partisan spirit. I attended the meeting in my individual capacity, as. it was surprising that in spite of the existence of accredited institutions of the Goan community in Bombay, a mass meeting of such an important character was being organised under the signatures of a handful Goans who had denationalised themselves during the British Raj and who, for all practical purposes had no political right in Goa.

I asked the president to allow me to speak at the meeting before the business was taken up on a point of order. The president insisted that I should let, him know the grounds for raising the point of order. I replied that as there were already organisations of the Goan community, established several years before a mass meeting of Goans ought to be called by any of these institutions, I pointed out that the president (Mr. S. S. Kavalekar) had associated himself with the work of Goan institutions in the past and so had Dr. M. U. Mascarenhas and other, and there ought not to be any difficulty in organising such a meeting through Goan institutions. I further asked how deliberations at this meeting called by some individuals could really be binding on the Goan people.

The president arbitrarily over-ruled the point of order and stated that they had not compelled any one to attend the meeting and that those who differed with the procedure or deliberations were free to participate or not to participate. In view of this ruling I had no other alternative but to withdraw from the meeting.

V. S. de POMPELLA YEGAS,
(Hony. General Secretary,
Goan Association Bombay).

Free Press Journal, dated 5th November 1949

Loyal Goans Thanked

In connection with a recent telegram sent by the Goan Association Bombay, to Dr. Oliveira Salazar, Premier of Portugal. Dr. Salazar in a cable addressed to the President of the Goan Association, Bombay, expresses the " Sincere satisfaction and great appreciation" of his Government for the unshakable loyalty and patriotism of the Goan Association and of the Goans in Bombay.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 6th November 1949

Goa deputation to Nehru

Bombay, November 5 (UPI) : A three man deputation of the National Congress of Goa will wait upon Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Prime Minister of India, during his short stay in the city after his return from the American tour on November 13, the United Press of India learns.

The deputation will consist of Mr. S. B. D'Silva, president, Mr. Vaman Desai, Secretary, and Dr. T. Mascarenhas, Treasurer, of the National Congress of Goa.

Appeal to UNO

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA)

The Member-Nations of the General Assembly,

United Nations Organisation,

Lake Success, U. S. A.

Friends,

I am submitting this statement to you for your information in as much as Portugal is an aspirant to the membership of your Organization.

Goa, Daman and Diu are the only Portuguese Possessions in India, and Goa constitutes the largest of these with a population estimated at over 6,00,000. The people are Indian.

Portugal has ruled over Goa for 439 years. During this long period of dominion Goa which was from the 4th Century A. D. onwards famous for wealth, commerce and industry as the " Most important place in Asia " has been reduced to economic desolation. Our towns are in ruins, our harbours one of the finest natural deep-sea harbours in the world are empty of shipping, our fields lie fallow and our people have been forced to migrate abroad in search of a livelihood they cannot find at home.

Since the end of World War II and particularly since the advent of Independence in India, the people of Goa have been demanding that they should be emancipated from the dominion of Portugal so that they may be free to rebuild their shattered economy and regain their self-respect. They have expressed the desire to join the Indian Union with which they are closely connected by history, race, culture and geography.

This aspiration of the people is being repressed by the Portuguese authorities with ferocity. Goan nationalists such as Mr. Tristao Braganza Cunha, Mr. Kakodkar, Mr. Bhembre, Dr. Hegde and Dr. Loyola are languishing in exile at the fortress of Peniche (Portugal) sent there by a Court Martial sentence although Martial Law was never proclaimed. Dr. Mayenkar, M/s. Shirodkar, E. George and Karapukar are incarcerated in the Fortress of Aguada (in Goa) in solitary confinement for 15 years for the offence of being office bearers of the National Congress (Goa).

The system of Government is wholly Fascist. The so-called Legislative Council and the Municipalities are packed with the nominees of the Government and even the Governor-General is an agent of the Colonial Minister in Lisbon. The administration is iron-clad and impervious to even the mildest representation of the public. The law forbids association, meeting or free speech and the press is so completely gagged that even the name of Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit, India's Ambassador to the U.S.A., is not allowed to be mentioned in any news item. To say " Jai-Hind " is a criminal offence.

The National Congress (Goa) of which I have the honour to be the President is an organization of the people of Goa. It is functioning in Goa itself labouring to organize the people by means entirely peaceful and free from any violence, to voice effectively the aspirations of the people for emancipation. On account of the repressive policy of the authorities it has to function in secret and its President and part of its Working Committee have to act from outside the frontiers of Goa. Our aim is that Portugal should withdraw from our country, and that people of Goa decide the future status of Goa within the frame-work of the Indian Union.

Pursuant to these ideals on the 15th of August 1949, I addressed a letter to the President of Portugal and to Premier Salazar containing a formal demand on behalf of the people of Goa that Portugal to withdraw from our country and leave us free to shape our own destiny. A copy of it is annexed (Pages 3, Appendix 1).

following upon my letter Dr. Telo Mascarenhas, the Hon. Treasurer of the Congress, who was formerly a pupil of Premier Salazar at the University of Coimbra and known him personally also addressed a wholly respectful personal letter to him supporting the views expressed in my letter. A copy is annexed (Page 4, Appendix II).

The reaction of Portugal has been extraordinary. On the 11th of September 1949 on orders from Lisbon, the Administrator of Civil Affairs in Goa summoned the Regedors (Village Officers) of Goa, in the following terms: —

Presence of Regedors required in the office of Administration—12 O'clock Monday, the 12th September.

Ad. Concelho de Goa.

Those who attended were shut into a room and presented with two blank sheets of paper and one stamped paper on which the following statement was written out : —

Your Excellency,

We the undersigned understand that an individual who lately visited Goa, misusing the good name of Goans sent a message to the President of Portuguese Republic and President of the Portuguese Cabinet alleging that he was doing this as a representative of Goans and on their behalf. We, indignant with this act of his, repudiate his impudent and dishonest affirmation.

The Goans never bestowed upon any adventurer, their representation, for they have amongst them decent people with good character and culture to perform this role.

He is none but an adventurer, who thrived from Metropolis, during a flying visit across Goa, to step from door to door to snatch from the generous and uncautious people to whom he promised the legal aid in their appeals in Portugal. And thereafter pocketing this and other money, thoroughly bankrupt, ran away to Bombay to serve those who afford to pay him. Those who were interested paid him to speak on behalf of Goans. But Goans keep themselves far away from the slur casted by the pretender like Telo who is sending the messages which are uncalled for.

With the object of repelling this affront to Goans we the undersigned respectfully beg of you to allow us to meet at public meeting to reply him duly and express what we think and feel in this matter.

The invitees were ordered to sign the above paper as well as two sheets of blank-papers under pain of imprisonment.

The meeting referred to in the above was called for the 22nd September 1949 but it was a complete failure as the people refused to co-operate.

The meeting had been called expressly to attack the person and reputation of Dr. Telo Mascarenhas, the Honorary Treasurer of the National Congress (Goa). Needless to say that the allegations are as false as they are malicious. Never has an individual been personally attacked by a sovereign nation.

I place these facts before you so that you may judge how much reliance may be placed upon the claim which Portugal is sure to base upon the proceeding of such a meeting. The originals of the documents quoted above are in our possession. The nations of the world may note from these the fascist tactics employed by Portugal to prejudice world opinion and to repress the just aspirations of the people of Goa.

Yours faithfully.
S. B. D'SILVA,
President,
National Congress (Goa)

APPENDIX I

Letter addressed to Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, President of the Council of Ministers of the Portuguese Government, Lisbon (Portugal), by Mr. S. B. D'Silva, M.A. LL.B. President of the National Congress (Goa). Excellency,

On behalf of the people of Goa we demand that you do withdraw from our land.

Your nation has ruled over us for four hundred and thirty-eight years. Your nation came into our country from the power of another invader. You have remained as conquerors. It is a truism to-day to say that no nation can justly exercise dominion over the people of another. We wish to be delivered from your power as you delivered us from that of another. You cannot remain against our wishes.

It is an axiom of political science that the only justification of any Government is the consent of governed. Your administration in Goa is without the consent of the people, for your councils, your municipal bodies, your so-called legislature do not represent the people in as much as they are not fully elective. Not only that, but it is unresponsive to the opinion of the public because your law has blocked the channels of expression by the rigorous censorship of the Press and by the total denial of Civil Liberties, as these are understood in all civilized lands.

In vain you tell us that your nation has brought us civilization and Christianity. Goa was civilized, prosperous and famous as a centre of the commerce and trade of the East, long before your country was even a name in the pages of history. Christianity would have come to us even if you had not come, as it came to other parts of India without your help ; indeed the fact that it is associated in the mind of the people of this country with a foreign culture and political power such as yours, is to-day the greatest obstacle to its continued existence not to say progress. In any event the confirmation of benefits howsoever great is no justification of the continuance of alien rule when the consent of the governed is withdrawn, much less when such consent was never given.

Today there is no possibility of such consent being conceded to your Government even if at any time you had it. You have alienated our people. Our leaders, Tristao Brganza Cunha, Purshottam Kakodkar, Dr. Ram Hegde, Laxmikant Bhembre, Jose Inacio Loyola, are without the justification of a fair trial imprisoned in your Fortress at Peniche and in exile from their homeland for claiming the elementary right to civil liberty. Dr. Mayenkar, P. Shirodkar, N. Karapurkar, G. Ticklo and E. George, are undergoing the savage sentence of 15 years imprisonment at Aguada fortress for the offence of being office-bearers of the National Congress.

In common with all the subject nations of Asia, in common with our own fellow countrymen in India we claim that freedom and democracy is our birthright and we realise that your people and your Government are incapable of even the conception of democracy when you suppress so savagely even non-violent agitation for elementary democratic rights.

If your Government is impervious to the realities of the times, you at least are reputed to be a clear sighted statesman. You surely recognize the trend of events in India to-day and cannot fail to realise that the continued occupation of a portion of Indian territory by your nation is an anomaly in the context of the sovereign independence of the Indian people. Inevitably the Government of the Indian Union, will, in their own interests, desire you to withdraw from the soil of India. What will your answer be? Will you subscribe to the boast of your Colonial Minister that " Rivers, of blood shall flow " before you are made to go? Or do you hope successfully to appeal to the United Nations Organization (of which your nation is not even a member) or to the signatories of the Atlantic Pact to help your nation to perpetuate your unjust dominion over Goa without and against the consent of its people ? For, the Goan people are Indians first, last, and all the time ; and will echo the demand of the Government of the Indian people that you should quit the sacred soil of our common motherland.

Whether or not the Government of the Indian Union support our demand the Goan People do not want you. During four centuries of your occupation of our homeland your dominion over us has blighted our manhood and, by suppressing freedom of thought, association and expression, reduced us to moral and spiritual bankruptcy. Your neglect of the natural resources of our country and the general ineptitude of your administration has sapped the vitals of our economic life and allowed our ancient prosperity to dwindle and decay until our towns are in ruins, our villages are deserted, our fields lie fallow and thousands of our people have been constrained to emigrate to other lands in search of a livelihood they cannot find at home. We want to be free now, to rebuild our shattered economy, to regain our self-respect, to reshape the destiny of our homeland nearer to our own hearts' desire.

Let there be no mistake. The National Congress (Goa) is an organization of the people by the people of Goa, functioning within Goa itself; we have branches outside so that the voice of the people which is silenced by your repression in Goa may nevertheless be heard. The office-bearers of the Organization are your nationals, constitutionally and politically though unwillingly. We in the name of the Goan People solemnly demand that Portugal do forthwith quit Goa, and we assure you that we shall never rest until we liberate our homeland from foreign domination.

Yours faithfully,

S. B. D'SILVA,

15th August 1949.

National Congress (Goa).

APPENDIX II

Dr. Telo de Mascarenhas, Hon. Treasurer of the National Congress (Goa), has sent to the Prime Minister of the Portuguese Government the following Message and Appeal. Excellency,

Knowing Your Excellency (by virtue of having been your pupil at the University of Coimbra and having lived in Portugal during the past 25

years) to be a man of great gifts of character and intelligence who has studied the most abstruse social and political problems, with practical good sense and vision, I wish to convey to your Excellency this Message and Appeal in the name of the people of Goa, confident that I express their thought with accuracy and fidelity.

Goa is a part of India which has been administered by Portugal for about four hundred years. But Excellency, this right to dominate, like all rights over a foreign people with distinct culture, customs and traditions and over a country separated from the central power by thousands miles, is precarious. The Portuguese dominion in India is not without precedent. Several centuries before the Portuguese landed in India, foreign people invaded our Country, dominated it and passed away to their destined end. but India has survived maintaining unsullied her ancient institutions, her traditions, her beliefs and her ethnic fundamentals, as if she had passed through a bad dream. In like manner the Portuguese dominion in India will pass away because there is no human force capable of arresting or thwarting the supreme designs of Destiny. Your Excellency, who are profoundly religious, must have felt in depths of your conscience that to dominate a people against their will, is to offend the fundamental principle of human dignity which is a reflection of Goa. And there are no reasons. historical or political, which can justify such a crime. The silence of the people of Goa does not mean acquiescence to the Portuguese rule but results from the actions of the Portuguese authorities in stifling the most elementary civil rights such as the freedom of thought, association and assembly. A mere ' Jai Hind' constitute a grave crime punishable with imprisonment. Civil liberties have been completely abolished in Goa thereby compelling many of her sons to live in exile, like the undersigned. But Goan nationalism is a smouldering fire which will break out one day with all its fury from beneath the ashes that conceal it and give it the appearance of a quiet disquiet and resignation, if it continues to be smothered by such inhuman methods.

The existence of the expeditionary forces in Goa, with all their war like paraphernalia not only perturbs the spirit of the people, through the atmosphere of intimidation and terror, but also aggravates the economic situation of the Country, besides giving rise to inevitable and pernicious consequences of a moral and social nature, which should be repugnant to your Catholic conscience.

India together with the entire East is emancipating itself from foreign domination, of the dying colonial systems, because she has regained the consciousness of her mission in the World in the service of Humanity. One of our greatest intellectuals Rabindranath Tagore, wanted India to be free, but free to fulfill the role which is hers in the History of Humanity. Also Goa, like the rest of India, wants to serve Humanity not excluding Portugal, but as an equal as a brother to brother.

With the withdrawal of the Portuguese from Goa our culture, our beliefs, and our moral and spiritual heritage will not be in danger, as one might suppose and as certain malevolent "people have wanted to insinuate. And in this context the Government of India as well as the Indian National Congress have fully reassured us, the latter in their Jaipur session of December last. Independant Goa will enjoy complete autonomy in the bosom of Greater India, Free and United, and shall consider Portugal as an elder brother who has his home far away, overseas, and is remembered with tenderness and affection. We prefer therefore that the Portuguese leave

us as good friends leaving in us sweet remembrances rather than as enemies wanting to defend a outrance an iniquity which they suppose to be their right and which will end up by dividing home and hearts.

This is, Your Excellency, in short the Message and Appeal which the people of Goa transmit to You, a Message and Appeal which should be clear to the great and enlightened mind of Your Excellency, and I feel assured of a favourable solution of this vital problem of the painful situation of the people of Goa who want to be free by having our political prisoners set free ; by having expeditionary forces withdrawn, civil liberties restored and finally by attaining full INDEPENDENCE.

25th August 1949.

This Message and Appeal is
placed in the hands of
Your Excellency, very
respectfully, by :
Telo de Mascarenhas.

Of the Working Committee of the National
Congress (Goa).

The Bharat, dated 10th November 1949

Public Opinion

ONLY SOLUTION FOR GOA

To the Editor, " Bharat"

Sir—The full text of a recent speech by the Portuguese Prime Minister, Dr. Oliveira Salazar, on Portuguese possession in India has appeared in a section of the Press in addition to the earlier abridged report circulated by Reuter. In this speech, made in Lisbon on October 20, to the Portuguese Government Party " National Union", the Portuguese Premier is reported to have said that Goa " is geographically India but has been for many centuries integrated under Portuguese sovereignty."

"Events in India," said Dr. Salazar, "provoked great perturbation in the minds of some of our countrymen creating aspirations which are nothing but mirage, Goa can only choose between being a state within Portugal or a small district in India with a complete overthrow of existing conditions."

"The final reaction, however, has turned out to be favourable to us. The revision that is in the offing will facilitate the solution of some pending question ."

To this propagandist speech all one can say in reply is that the fact that Goa has been integrated under Portuguese sovereignty for more than four centuries does not deprive Goans of the right of integrating their territory with the Indian Union. Very many years before Portugal attained nationhood, Goa belonged to India or formed part of it. That is the real meaning of saying that Goa "is geographically India.""

The days of foreign domination are over all over the world. A new star has risen in the East. If Dr. Salazar described as a " mirage " the aspirations of the people of Goa since the attainment of independence by India, I can only say that imperialism is obscuring the intelligence of Dr. Salazar. He does not want to believe that this is a century of the emancipation of people.

A State of Goa within Portugal without autonomy, without civil liberties is intolerable to Goans. Dr. Salazar, to say the least, appears to be ill-informed on the point of autonomy. Goa will be a completely free and autonomous State within India ; the Jaipur resolution of the Congress and subsequent declarations of the Government of India are quite clear in this regard.

" The final favourable reaction " of which Dr. Salazar spoke referred obviously to the " mass meeting of puppets recently staged in Goa at the cost of thousands of rupees of public money. Organised by the Director of Administrative Services, the meeting was repudiated and is still being repudiated by the mass of the people.

It is for the people of Goa to say after they have been granted full freedom of expression whether they want to remain under the 'Portuguese or under the Indian flag. This is the only peaceful solution possible. Until this is done the National Congress of Goa will continue its struggle for the overthrow of Portuguese rule in India.

C. FURTADO,

President, Bombay Committee

National Congress of Goa.

The Bharat, dated 16th November 1949.

Can Goa Plebiscite be held?

By Purshottam Gaonkar.

Now that the time is fast approaching for the people of Goa to decide their future, it would not be out of place to review the circumstances obtaining in the settlement today. Though Chandernagore has shown the way, the procedure in regard to the plebiscite in the other French possessions in the colonialism, but if any preference can be shown in this matter, it must be remembered that the French today are the successors of the authors of one of the greatest revolutions which changed the way of life for humanity. The history of the Portuguese, however, makes quite a different reading. The people in the Portuguese dominations, long under an oppressive rule, have almost lost that virile spirit with which nature endows human beings. In the Portuguese possessions anyone found uttering the word " justice, freedom, equality, self-respect and human dignity " is considered a criminal.

Hindus and Christians form the two main communities in Goa, the respective percentages being 54 and 46. There are of course, subcastes among the Hindus; the Brahmins, economically and otherwise are an advanced class. Sub-castes, though in a lesser degree, exist also among the Christians for their fore-fathers were originally Hindus. Here again the Christians Brahmins have scored in progress, but not so markedly as in the case of their Hindu prototype. The Hindu Non-Brahmins, who form majority, are more backward than the Christian Non-Brahmins and hence, in point of education and economic position, Christians are far better off than Hindus generally.

Last month, a big show of loyalty was organised in Goa. Who were however, the promoters of this show ? In the history of all people there have been individuals who, blinded by selfish motives, have betrayed the cause of their people. In Goa, both among Hindus and Christians there are big landlords and the Portuguese have consistently followed a policy of

maintaining them and encouraging them in perpetuating their vested interests. People serving in Government offices, including educational and other institutions of public services, are drawn exclusively from this class. The Portuguese afford them all facilities, including the use of force if necessary, to keep the people under them in complete servitude.

Civil liberties and the Portuguese Government are each other's declared enemies. They simply cannot co-exist. If anywhere anyone has succeeded in tasting the most savoury dishes of colonial domination, it is in the Portuguese possessions. This domination was ensured in Goa and other settlements by introducing the most oppressive measures of legislation, which today have produced a tribe of creatures without any sense of self-respect and individuality.

The people in Goa and other parts of Portuguese dominions live under an eternal fear, and this state of mind, from the cradle to the grave, constitutes almost their second nature. They have to move within prescribed lines in a determined place ; all expression is like signing along dotted lines; even eating and drinking conform to a menu officially prepared.

Liberty of thought and expression, social economic and political justice, and dignity of the individual are things completely unknown in Goa and other parts. Everything printed on paper, including an invitation card for a wedding, must go to the Board of Censors (composed of military authorities) for sanction. Associations and meetings are under an eternal ban. Private educational institutions are governed by official rules, and lately religious matters have been introduced as a compulsory subject. This has been done upon the advice of the present Patriarch who, on landing in Goa, was surprised to see a Hindu majority even after five centuries of Portuguese rule.

These are, in short, the conditions under which Goans live To hold a plebiscite would be, therefore, tantamount to a denial to the people of Goa and other possessions of a democratic right to express their free will. Never, in the atmosphere today obtaining in Goa, would the people be able to express their sovereign will. Restoration of full civil liberties, at least six months before the date of a plebiscite, must be therefore, a *sine qua non* of any arrangement that may be made to ascertain the will of the people. Any other arrangement will not be acceptable to Goans.

Free Press Journal, dated 18th November 1949.

Goan's Grouse

I am a Goan who is interested in an amicable settlement of the problem of the integration of Goa into the Indian Union. I believe the issue can be peacefully settled if the Government of India handles the situation through its diplomatic representatives. I therefore, protest against the action of Mr. Ashok Mehta, Indian Consul in Goa in publicly fraternizing with a group of the so-called Goan nationalists in Bombay. By accepting tea parties from persons whose names are anathema to the Portuguese Government in Goa, the Indian Consul may exacerbate the pro-Portuguese element in Goa and seriously compromise the efforts the Government of India is making to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the issue. Mr. Mehta's presence in Goa, I feel, will not be beneficial either to Goa or to the Indian Union.

S. J. GUDE,

Special Branch, C. I. D.
Bombay, 23rd November 1949.

Top secret

No. 16657/A,

CIRCULAR

The Superintendents of Police (' A ' to ' F ' Divisions).

It is learnt that the ' Portuguese and Goan Nationals in Greater Bombay will observe Friday the 25th November 1949 as ' Portuguese Reconquest of Goa Day' by hoisting Portuguese Flags over the Goan Clubs and residential places.

Superintendents of Police will issue instructions to the Inspectors in charge of Police Stations in the Divisions to keep a watch at such Places and report the names of the clubs of individuals who hoist Portuguese Flag and also whether the Indian National Flags were hoisted side by side.

Sd.

Deputy Commissioner of Police,
Special Branch. C. I. D.,
Bombay.

Copy to : —

The Superintendent of Police, Bombay, Division.

Copy with compliments to :—

1. The Deputy Commissioner of Police, Head quarters. Bombay.
2. The Assistant Commissioner of Police, North,
3. The Assistant Commissioner of Police, South ; Inspector Sewree Police Station for compliance and report.

Special Branch, C. I. D.
Bombay, 25th November 1949.

Top Secret

Sir,

To-day is the " Portuguese Conquest Day " and the celebrations are being opposed by those who are against the continuance of Goa under the Portuguese rule.

The posters have been distributed in certain parts of the city clandestinely and it is learnt that hundreds of such posters have been distributed on the borders of Goa.

S I. of Police,
SSB S. B. (T).

The Anglo Lusitano, dated 26th November 1949.

Polities and Religion

The fact that the Indian Union is a secular state and that politics must be divorced from religion has often been stressed. The minorities in the Indian Union have been assured of freedom of worship, but while the letter of the law may be maintained its spirit is not always observed. Discrimination is exercised in many ways. It may take the form of a reduction in the *grant-in-aid* to a school, or it may take the form of depriving a convert of the benefits he is entitled to, if he professes the religion of the majority.

As a matter of fact, politics is inseparable from religion. That has been the experience of many of the countries of Europe, and the experience of India is not likely to be different. In Goa the people are deeply religious. Their life centres around the village church and the village chapel. The priest is the counsellor, guide and friend of the people. The people dread any change which may affect the daily routine of their lives. The Goan is spiritually inclined. He is more anxious to be at peace with God and to be assured of eternal happiness in the next world than to be provided with wealth and comforts on earth.

The culture of the people is intertwined with their religion, and they expect the State to provide for their cultural development. Will a Government divorced from religion satisfy the cravings of the people ? Religion permeates the life of the people at every stage. If the State becomes secular, the people will be cut adrift from their present moorings and will be irretrievably lost. That is why the people are not in favour of a change of regime.

Some idea of the favour and enthusiasm of the people in favour of religious may be gained from the preparations which are being made to accord a fitting reception to the Statue of Our Lady of Fatima on its arrival here. The whole of Goa is agog with excitement and Goans from all over India are expected to come here to welcome Our Lady of Fatima, who is due to arrive here on Tuesday the 29th inst.

NATIONAL CONGRESS GOA

Bombay City, Special Branch (1), November 29.

Leaflets were distributed by Messrs. S. B. D'Silva, Telo Mascarenhas, Vasant P. Borkar and Waman Desai, office bearers of the National Congress (Goa) at Dhobi Talao, on November 28, requesting the Goans to come forward and join the National Congress (Goa) for the Redemption of Goa.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 3rd December 1949.

Goan Political Conference

On June 21st 1947 a Goan Political Conference was held in Bombay where a Quit Goa resolution was passed calling upon the Portuguese to hand over power to the elected representatives of the people. The Conference also appointed a Standing Committee to implement the resolution. This Committee consisted of Mr. Luis de Souza, President of the Goa Congress Committee in Bombay, Mr. S. B. D'Silva, President of National Congress Goa (Bombay branch), Mr. Vasant Borkar, Secretary, N. C. G. (Bombay branch) Mr. Peter Alvares, member of the executive committee and Secretary of the Socialist Party (India) Bombay ; and Dr. Vinayak Mayenkar, President of the National Congress. Goa who it was later learnt was arrested while in Goa.

I was a delegate to this conference and I have seen that for the last two years nothing whatsoever has been done by the Standing Committee to implement the resolution passed by the Conference. We were hardly aware whether the Standing Committee was standing at all. So my surprise is not unfounded to find in the papers of November 29th that Luis J. D'Souza, President of the Goa Congress Committee, means to convene the Second Goan Political Conference this year. And a preliminary meeting of so called prominent citizens of Goa was held at the Podar College to make preparations for the said conference, which was from

reports coming to me a closed door affairs exclusive for invitees. I trust that all those interested in the future of Goa will be on the guard to see that bogus people do not misrepresent the militant demands for struggle in Goa to liquidate the Fascist rule of Portugal. Goa will indeed be free but not through Standing Committee appointed in Bombay. As a well wisher of the conference I trust that more militant sections from amongst the Gcan people will participate in the conference and make it a genuine fighting platform of the Goan masses.

A Participant.

National Standard, dated 12th December 1949.

Goans' desires to join India

MEETING REJECTS SALAZAR OFFER

The Goa National Congress reiterated at a meeting held at the Blavatsky Lodge, Bombay, on Sunday, the determination of Goans in India to attain integration with the Indian Union and to accept no compromise with Portugal which fell short of total surrender of sovereignty over her territorial possessions in this country.

Dr. M. U. Mascarenhas, ex-Mayor of Bombay, presided.

The meeting had been called to register the indignation of the Goans in the city at the "offer" of Dr. Oliveira Salazar, Prime Minister of Portugal. in a recent speech to amend the Colonial Act, with the ostensible view of inducing Goa to remain a province of Portugal rather than a district in the Indian Union.

By a resolution which was unanimously adopted the meeting rejected the Portuguese Prime Minister's "Political bait" and emphasized that nothing less than freedom from the foreign yoke could satisfy the Goan citizen.

Addressing the gathering, Dr. Mascarenhas observed that the triumph which had crowned India's struggle for independence should serve as an inspiration to the people of Goa and given solidarity and determination, their goal could be realised.

Mr. L. J. De Souza who also spoke, called for the co-operation and support of city Goans to the two-day session of the Goan Political Conference to be held on January 7 and 8.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA)

An appeal to Goans

Goan brethren : It is imperative that we should unite, without any distinction of caste or creed because the hour of redemption of our beloved Goa is near.

Let us centre ourselves, not around men but around an Idea that of redeeming Our Country from the too long sway of over 400 years, which sapped our energies, our wealth, and the productive capacity of our Land, compelling us to emigrate to earn our daily bread.

We should feel ourselves belittled and ashamed in our own eyes and in the eyes of the entire World, in this era of emancipation wherein the suppressed peoples of Asia and Africa are winning back their freedom, at our continued domination by a people that came to India for the purposes of commerce and ultimately ended in suppressing us politically economically and morally.

The National Congress (Goa), which is an organisation open to all Goans, was founded not to live a prop to personalities, as it is fallaciously believed by some, but solely to vindicate an Ideal and the personalities that ceaselessly work for it are simply effaced before the Ideal they serve the liberation of Goa from Portuguese domination and precisely because of it, every Goan that calls himself a nationalist and loves his Country, should align himself on our side so as to make common cause with us in fighting and winning the common battle for the Sacred Cause of our Motherland. The timid, defeatists and the opportunists have no place in our ranks but only men of action, resolute and energetic in body and soul ready for all sorts of sacrifices !

We are fighting for a just cause against iniquity, against dictatorship and against tyranny, and as such God is with us and Victory shall be ours ! Once Goa is liberated it will be the Goans themselves that will shape the destiny of their Country with due respect to the divergent creeds, habits, language and the existing institutions so as to avoid any upheaval which might lead to chaos and would annihilate us spiritually. And none can contribute to the happiness of Goa better than her own sons and daughters. Even as an integral part of India, Goa shall have ample opportunities to safeguard its spiritual, moral and economic interests, be they of Hindus or of Christians.

Our first objective once Goa is liberated shall be to improve the conditions of the more needy sections, providing them with the divine gifts of bread, work and shelter within our own Country, thereby, removing the causes for our emigration, with its sorrowful tale, which is a necessary evil to us.

Once Goa is liberated, the differences and the castist feuds, provoked always by the foreign rulers with the aim of dividing us so as to rule better, and at times also born of the desire in some of us to give inequi-vocal proof of our servile allegiance to our rulers with selfish motives, shall necessarily have to disappear, because within Goa, every Goan, whatever be his caste or creed shall enjoy equality of rights and duties.

Goan brethren ! please come forward and join the National Congress (Goa) in your thousands, because we see close by the hour of Redemption of Goa—our Mother !

JAI HIND

August 18th, 1949 J. K. Building
No. 4/20 Gamdevi, Bombay No. 7.

S. B. D'Silva, President
Telo Mascarenhas, Hon. Treasurer
Vasant P. Borkar Hon. Gen-
Waman Desai Secretaries.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), December 12.

Under the auspices of the National Congress, Goa, a protest meeting was held at the Blavatsky Hall on December 11, 1949, when Dr. M. U. Mascarenhas presided and about 100 persons were present. The President and Messrs. D'Silva, Prof. Laxmanrao Sardesai and Mr. Desai refuted the charge made by Dr. Salazar, the Portuguese Premier that the Goans have very few aspirations and that they were contented with the Portuguese regime. They reiterated that the Goans have one aspiration and that is Freedom for the Goans for which they were struggling.

Free Press Journal, dated 27th December 1949

Goan Conference

A political conference of Goans is to be convened at Cowasjee Jahangir Hall on January 7 and 8, 1950. The fee for the delegates is Re 1 ; and for the visitors As. 4. Indeed there is a strong necessity for convening a mass political conference which would give a bold lead for the immediate liberation of Goa from the Fascist domination. However with such high fee for delegates and lack of publicity the conference cannot be a real mass conference expressing the basic demands of the Goan people. This conference would at most express the wishes of a certain section of the Goa people who are not interested in action but only want to satisfy their ego. This is the second Goan Political conference. The first Political conference convened in 1947 had appointed a Standing Committee to implement the Quit Goa resolution. Do these people want to repeat the farce of another Quit Goa resolution followed by inaction ?

Terezo Pereira.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 29th December 1949

Goan Conference

Bombay, Wednesday : Dr. Ubaldo Mascarenhas. Ex-Mayor of Bombay, was elected the President of the forth-coming Goan Political Conference, at a meeting of the Reception Committee held at Forbes Hall, Vithalbhai Patel Road, yesterday. The conference will be inaugurated by Mr. Jai Prakash Narain.

It was also decided that all suggestions must reach the Secretary of the Conference by 2nd of January so that they may be incorporated in the resolutions, if they are approved by the select committee.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 24th December 1949

Goan Conference

We have learnt that a Political Conference of Goans is to be convened at the Sir Cowasjee Jahangir Hall on the 7th and 8th January 1950. We have also learnt further that the fee for the delegates to the conference is fixed at Re. 1 and for the visitors at As. 4. I sincerely believe that there is a strong and pressing necessity for the convening of a mass political conference which would really give a bold lead and programme for the immediate liberation of Goa from Fascist domination.

However, with such high fee for delegates and lack of publicity for the conference, the conference would not be in the nature of a real mass conference expressing the basic demands of the Goan people. The Conference as now being organised would at most express the wishes of a certain section of the Goan people who are not interested in action but only want to satisfy their ego.

This is supposed to be the Second Goan Political Conference. The first Political conference convened in 1947 had appointed a standing committee made up of Messrs. S. B. D'Silva, Peter Alvares, L. J. D'Souza and others who were to implement the " Quit Goa" resolution passed at that conference do these individuals want to repeat the farce of another " Quit Goa " resolution followed by inaction ?

I would strongly urge the conveners of this Second Political Conference to make the Conference the real voice of the Goan people by fixing the delegation fee at As. 4 and keeping the visitors gallery open to the public. Why are we afraid of the people ?

Terezo Pereira.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 31st December 1949

Walk out : The General Secretary of the Goan Peoples' Party writes " More than 30 members of the Reception Committee of the Goan Political Conference walked out of a preliminary meeting convened at the Forbes Gujarati Hall on the 27th. The walk-out was a protest against the undemocratic procedure being followed by the organisers of the conference."

Bombay Chronicle, dated 31st December 1949

Shake off Bonds of Slavery

Appeal To Goans To Unite

Bombay, Friday

The President of Bombay Committee of the Goa National Congress, Mr. Cristovam Furtado has issued the following New Year message to Goans resident in the Indian Union :

"At the dawn of the New Year I send my greetings to Goans who are earning their bread in the Indian Union, appealing to all to close their ranks and rally around the mother country to smash the chains that bind us as slaves to foreign nation that has dominated Goa and must be driven out if our individuality is to be affirmed.

" On you depends the future, the future of your children and of your country ! Forget the misunderstandings which divide you ; open your eyes to reality ; brush aside with contempt the petty quarrels to serve the common cause. "

" As we enter the new year, let us formulate new resolutions and cultivate a dignity which elevates a nation ! Let us be brave and dignified men ! Rise like a man for the affirmation of our collective honour. "

The Sunday Standard, dated 1st January 1950

Life Sentence on 6 Accused in Goa Treasury Raid Case

Sentences, ranging from three years to 29 years rigorous imprisonment, have been passed against nine Goans accused in the Mapuca Treasury Raid case by the Mapuca Court in Goa on December 1929, according to information received in the office of the Goan Peoples Party at Bombay.

The Court sentenced Viswanatha Lawande, Deshpande and four others to 29 years rigorous imprisonment, Sinali to 23 years rigorous imprisonment and Samant and Damankar to 3 years rigorous imprisonment each. Of these sentenced, only Viswanath Lawande is not in Portuguese custody, and was tried " *in absentia* ". All the other prisoners have been under Portuguese detention after their arrest two years ago—UPI.

GOAN POLITICAL CONFERENCE

(Second Session 1950)

APPEAL TO ALL GOANS

Since the first Political Conference held in June 1947, events in Goa have moved forward. The pressure all around us exercised by atmosphere

of freedom in India has made the Portuguese think of the future of Goa. The overwhelming vote of the people of Chandernagore for freedom from the French and integration with India has awakened the Portuguese to the dynamics of a people's desire for freedom. Therefore, the situation in Goa has changed from comparative passivity to active terror of the population. Troops, guns, aeroplanes are being brought in and paraded to instil terror into the heart of the people and to warn them against any association with the leaders of the fight for freedom. Not content with this, other fears are being sowed, doubts raised and promises held out. All these are but attempts to postpone the evil day for the Portuguese when they must finally leave the shores of Goa.

As those who are anxious for our country's freedom, we must not rest content or rely upon with external favourable circumstances. Amongst ourselves, we must realize our responsibility and must make our own efforts to free Goa. No external circumstances can help us to that extent to which our own efforts can do. First and last it must be our own efforts that should drive out the Portuguese from Goa. Until we make these efforts no success will come to us.

With events around us moving rapidly, we must take this opportunity to find ways and means to achieve our Goal of Freedom. We are, therefore, summoning the Second Session of the Goan Political Conference on the 7th and 8th January 1950 to echo the voice of the Goan people for freedom and translate their desire into action. The Conference will be held in the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall.

Support us in this move : Join in Thousands :

L. J. D'SOUZA.

Hon. General Secretary.

Reception Committee.

Dated 22nd December 1949.

Sir,

This leaflet may Pl. be forwarded to the " H " Branch for information and record with the file of Goan Politics with which they are dealing.

(Signed)

Sub-Inspector of Police.

SSB, S.B.(I), 29th December 1949.

Times of India, 4th January 1949

Conference of Goans

Reiteration of the " Quit Goa" resolution, which was passed by the first Goan Political Conference in 1947, and the demand for the integration of Goa into the Indian Dominion are among the main resolutions to be considered at the second Goan Political Conference to be held in Bombay on January 7 and 8.

About 500 delegates from all over India have arrived in the city to attend the conference, which will be inaugurated by Mr. Jayprakash Narayan. the Sociocialist leader. Dr. M. U. Mascarenhas, Ex-Mayor of Bombay, will preside, U. P. I.

Goa Times, dated 7th January 1950

News Item in Konkani attached states that Mr. V. K. Mohe, B.A. and Mr. S. S. D'Souza were elected President and Vice-President respectively by the members of the GOAN UNION on 29th December 1949.

May please be forwarded to the Senior Supdt. S. B. (I) for information.

Signed

Sub-Inspector of Police,
SSB S. B. (I), 7th January 1950.

The Goa Times.

6th January 1956.

Sir,

I beg to state that on 7th and 8th January 1950, a Goan Political Conference is to be held at the Cowasji Jehangir Hall in the evenings.

The above conference has been called with the object of bringing various Goan organisations and parties together to make a joint demand for the withdrawal of the Portuguese from the Indian territories *viz.*, Daman, Diu and Goa.

It is reported that Dr. Mascarinhas the Ex-Mayor of Bombay is to preside on the occasion and about 300 delegates from all over India are to attend the conference.

The idea of the conference has mainly sprung from the brains of the leaders of the National Congress Goa, a party which has a major support from both the Hindus and non-Hindus of Goa.

There is, however, one organisation *viz.*, the Goan Association which is pro-Portuguese and which carries on its anti-Indian activity secretly. One Pompei Veigos is the brain behind the party. A report against him has already been sent to the Political and Services Department, Government of Bombay. A strict watch has also been maintained on his activities. He has influence over a certain class of Christian community namely those coming from Goa.

Signed

Sub-Inspector of Police,
H. Br. S. B. (I), C. I. D., Bombay.

Supdt., S. B. I.

Sir,

Submitted, there is an organisation *viz.*, the Goan Association which is a pro-Portuguese commanded and which is carrying pro-Portuguese and anti-India propaganda. Some people from this organisation are likely to, visit the conference place commanded by those Goanese who are in favour of amalgamation of Portuguese territory with India, and to commit some mischief which would lead to some trouble.

A cutting regarding conference is attached.

Signed

Inspector of Police,
H. Br. C. I. D., Bombay.

Insp. H. Br.

This should be shown to the D. C. P. S. B. I. This was a reference about, the instructions given to you as per D. C. P's suggestion to certain places.

The previous papers be also shown to the D. C. P. S. B. A. C. P. Sowni has been separately informed.

The Bharat dated 6th January 1950.

Saturday, January 7, *Goan Political Conference*—Dr. M. U. Mascarenhas presiding, C. J. Hall, 3-00 p.m.

Dated 6th January 1950.

Inspector 'H' Branch.

Lot of propaganda is being carried on by pro-Portuguese section in Bombay and it is reliably believed that the said section is being financed by the Portuguese Consul. Some activities of this section have already come to our notice and confidential reports about the same be submitted to the D. C. P. S. B. for his information.

It is also heard that there is going to be a Goan Conference in the C. J. Hall where there is likely to be trouble. An immediate report about this meeting and about possible resolutions coming forth for discussion be reported to D. C. P. S. B. personally. An officer be detailed to get information about the pro-Portuguese section and assistance of D. I. Gomes be taken.

(Signed)

Superintendent. S. B. I.

Manifesto

Since the first Goan Political Conference held in June 1947 the political scene in India has undergone a radical change. The dramatic events which culminated in the triumph of India's long struggle for independence were then in the womb of time. Today the fight for freedom from the domination of colonial powers of the West has swept the East like a cleansing wind.

The sovereignty of the people of India stands vindicated and the British have quit. Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia are already free and independent. China is liberated from the grip of colonial imperialism. Signs of French and Portuguese imperialism, however, still remain like small black dots on the map of India.

But even here the wave of nationalism now sweeping Asia cannot fail to take in its stride these small pockets of colonial imperialism. In fact the French possession of Chandernagore has already been liberated, and the others are well on the way to freedom. Only Goa, Daman and Diu, however, still remain under the heels of the Portuguese "rule. But events are moving fast. Forces, both external and internal, are converging towards the realization of the resolution passed at the first session of the conference.

But we Goans are vitally concerned in the fate of our country. Since 1946 we have been struggling for independence in the face of the severest repression as a result of which some of our youngmen are today rotting in jails, thousands of miles away from their motherland.

At this critical juncture it behoves us to get together and direct our minds to the issues arising out of the present situation. Portugal may withdraw from our land due to the irresistible pressure from external circumstances. It is agreed even by the hardiest of die-hards that the withdrawal of the Portuguese is inevitable. But we cannot complacently wait on external forces to liberate our home land.

If we love the land of our birth and value all that it means to us ; if we have self-respect and prize our manhood, we cannot and must not sit still. Freedom cannot come as a gift. It must be our, often by blood, toil and tears. To win our birthright of Freedom and Democracy is primarily our own responsibility. We ourselves must strive for the realization of the Quit Goa Resolution.

Our first duty, therefore, is to demand *with one voice* that Portugal should forthwith Quit Goa and to strive unitedly to achieve the realization of our demand. Portuguese stooges are actively striving to create fissiparous tendencies among the Goans. Our answer to this must be an unambiguous and united demand for a Goa, free from foreign domination.

What is to be our future status in the Indian Republic is our own inalienable right to decide. Once we succeed in forcing the Portuguese to withdraw by our united and determined effort, we can easily create those conditions of civil liberty and freedom of expression in which all points of view can be propagated and discussed, enabling the people themselves to decide in what shape or form we shall join our brethren in the Indian Republic.

The main objective of the Conference, therefore, is to reiterate the demand formulated at the first session *namely to Quit Goa*, and then to chalk out a definite plan of action in which all Goans irrespective of creed or political affiliation may join hands and march unitedly.

It is the duty of all Goans who love their homeland to join in this common effort.

Laxman Rao Sardesai,

Chairman,

11, Bruce Street, Fort, Bombay.

Reception Committee.

The Goan Political Conference

Address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee

SECOND SESSION

Cowasjee Jahangir Hall, Bombay

Saturday, the 7th and Sunday, the 8th January 1950.

Delegates and friends,

We all meet here today in between a period of today's serfdom and the freedom of tomorrow: The terrors and sufferings of an age old slavery are eating our vitals but at the same time the luminous dreams of the dawn of freedom are shedding upon us the light of a new hope and a new life. On this occasion, when we all gather here under the banner of a common ideal forgetting all our differences, I welcome you all heartily, my friends, on behalf of the Reception Committee of this Second Session of the Goan Political Conference and on behalf of my own self.

Under the existing circumstances of suppression of civil liberties at home, you alone represent truly the suffering millions of Goa and are the real expression of there hopes and aspirations. The strength of 1 /5th of our

population, residing in this city, is already behind you, and the rest who are gagged, bullied, beaten and jailed in Goa are all with you here in thought and spirit. I pay my reverence to this noble spirit that stands symbolised in you and I recollect with gratitude and love, all my colleagues who are suffering behind the bars for the liberation of our beloved land. I cannot help being moved by the memories of our veteran leader Dr. Hegde—Desai and our colleague Mr. V. N. Mayenkar who left us. on the great day of the 15th of August and yet live with us linked with that memorable day in the History of India.

Our history is a long saga of genuine love for freedom that has endured the onslaught of tyranny and misrule. Our spirit of resistance is unbroken and inspiring. We are the true descendants of those who fought the Portuguese in the 16th and the 17th centuries. They fell but kept the resistance up. The story of the Ranas is fresh like living blood. They were not rebels but revolutionaries. They fought not for their personal ends but to bring living conditions for the common man and to keep up the dignity of his soul. Every twenty years our history is punctuated by fresh struggles since the times of the great Dipajee. Their only objective was to drive the Portuguese out. People like Viscount Carvalho and Don Jose were their trusted friends and guides. Yes, Ranas were deceived and killed but the flame they left is alive and illuminative.

The spirit of resistance brought down to us by our martial ancestors was shaped and moulded into a new understanding by the rising nationalism in India and the consequent agitations in different fields here have deeply influenced our sensitive minds. The mighty hands of the great Tilak and the revitalising light of Mahatma Gandhi have shaped the new Gomantak into a new strength and a new dignity. The share of Goans themselves in this noble task is not small. Shri Meneses, Tristao Braganza Cunha, Dr. Shirgaonkar, Dr. Hegde Desai, D. V. Pai, and many more have influenced our political thought and spirit. I pay my respect to their service. I am proud to feel that inspite of being separated by a different rule, We Goans have never lost sight of our unity with the Indian Nation and have done our part in almost all the struggles of her freedom.

This great tradition got crystallized in its finest in our struggle of 18th June and thus opened a glorious chapter in our history. Dr. Lohia, its initiator, was to us the messenger of Mother India. He brought in the values of Gandhian thought and technique and gave a new colour to our martial spirit. Truth and non-violence gave a fight in an unique way to a tyrannical fascist power. The pent up emotions of a cultured and essentially emotional people rose in a wave of sublimity assailing almost all the stratas of our society both big and small, literate and illiterate giving a new meaning and lustre to their life. The Portuguese Government were shake a to its foundations and their morale broke down. They came with ' promises and in due course as usual, turned them down. Old technique of tyranny and temptation was given a new trial and hundreds were insulted, beaten and jailed. Inhuman sentences of 8, 10 and 15 years were given and this policy is still in continuance, with greater vehemence. To-day Goa has been made an arsenal of Portuguese might and the entire territory is practically a concentration camp. The terror is reigning and yet the flame continues.

Of this struggle was both the National Congress (Goa) that has rightly deserved the esteem of the people in India and the confidence of the people in Goa. It is true that the wave has subsided, as has been the case always every where, but the spirit has caught up the masses and this the Portuguese

know better than we do. It must be admitted, however, that more faith in our ideal and more active support from India could have avoided this depressing situation ; but at the same time we need not get disheartened, for the seeds of sacrifice take a long time to sprout, grow and fruitify. The time of the harvest is not far off. But if it is to come and come early our people must strengthen their faith in truth and non-violence, translating and consolidating it in the selfless service of the people and India must come to their help with all its might, spiritual and material. Portuguese do not live in the future ; they live in the past. Their objective is not economic but historical. Their temperament is not realistic but quiet. Their approach is not democratic but fascist. Therefore, they understand only one language and that of armed might. No amount of discussions and negotiations or latitudes and platitudes will bring them to their senses. Let all of us, both in Goa and abroad understand this. Portuguese history amply stands in evidence to justify what I here sound as a note of warning. The sooner India knows this, the better it is for her safety.

I said just now that we need not dishearten, but I must also stress the urgency of doing a little heart searching on our part. The recent 25 years of fascist rule has deprived us of many of our virtues and without our knowledge some terrible defects have crept into our structure. Here are a few of them :—

(a)Instead of consolidating ourselves in the ideal common to us, we get lost over details and flitter.

(b)Instead of co-operating on the points of agreement we quarrel and part on the points of disagreement.

(c)Instead of adding to the strength of our individuals and the institutions we weaken them by stressing upon their defects.

(d)Instead of solving the immediate problem that concerns us. we raise the issues of tomorrow and vitiate and weaken the problem of the hour.

(e)Instead of improving the institutions from within by active help, we irresponsibly criticize them from without.

(f) Instead of taking to silent and consistent constructive work, we are drawn more to glamour and propaganda.

In short we, the fathers and children of co-operative village communes, have forgotten the art of living and working in intimate co-operation. This is so far as the workers are concerned. The people at large too have their own responsibility towards the workers. True, they have every right to put the workers to severe test and demand of them high sacrifice and spotless integrity, but at the same time they must realize that they too are human beings. They too must be provided with at least bare necessities of life. This responsibility is theirs and they must shoulder it. I should be failing in my duty towards my colleagues who are in wilderness to-day completely without food and shelter, if I do not voice this truth. I have no hesitation in saying that if we Goans in Bombay had given a one rupee slogan and collected a lakh of rupees, the movement could have been sustained to this date inspite of all odds. What is left undone can still be done, and I hope you will do it. If we overcome these defects by strenuous discipline, we not only strengthen ourselves but weaken the Portuguese, for; our weakness is their strength. Their strength cannot defeat us; our, weakness alone can. Let us shed it and go ahead.

Ladies and gentlemen, freedom of Goa is an inevitability, a writing on the wall. The mightiest British had to quit and other European Imperialist powers shall have to follow. But if our freedom is to serve its true purpose,

that is to result in complete social, economic and cultural emancipation of our country, we must have a militant organisation that may be sound enough to deliver goods at a crucial hour. Best that is in us must muster strong in this organization which should be capable of strength, purity of motives, foresight, tact and efficiency. We know already how the Portuguese are exploiting our best and worst inclinations. Because we are essentially a religious people they bring us the cross. But it is not for our salvation but to back their sword. They brought Fatima and when we welcomed her with greetings and applause they said it was our plebiscite in their favour. Tomorrow they may bring waters from Benares and say likewise. Now they are busy in offering crumbs of bread to a few and dispensing favours to their God-sons, thus to create an organisation of reactionaries to serve their purpose in case or when the day of judgement comes. We must take due notice of this dark cloud and strengthen the National Congress (Goa). Let us join it in thousands, strengthen it by service, enhance it by our integrity and elevate it by virtue, and thus strengthen the hands of all those who are working in Goa for our liberation.

The growth of freedom in Goa seems to have seriously disturbed Dr. Salazar, the Portuguese Premier. He has for the first time publicly admitted that the problem of Goa is a serious matter. But he has carefully avoided to face it honestly and idly hopes that he will succeed in placating the Goan people by a few crumbs of bread and occasional reforms. The way, the problem of French settlements in India is being solved, has convinced the Portuguese fascists that some day they will have to bow down to world pressure and agree to the referendum of Goan people on the question of Goa's integration into the Indian Union. Means are already devised therefore by them to deceive, divide and demoralise our people and thus to bring the referendum in their own favour. Much propaganda is being made to say that Goa is content and quiet but the truth is quite the reverse of it. It is an open fact now that Goa occupied territory kept under Portuguese subjugation at the point of the sword and the fear of the Cross. The unholy alliance of the State and the Church have caught hold of the throat of the people and tied their hands and feet. Even the most innocent activity of social or humanitarian work is branded as a revolt against the State and the workers are driven to exasperation by cold or wild persecution. Peoples' representatives have no voice or place either in their legislation or administration.

The question of referendum under these circumstances is, therefore, an added insult to our bleeding injury. To integrate into one's own Nation, need of a referendum, is absurd, but if at all it must take place, we do not fear it, but cannons of justice and truth demand that prior to that (a) Goa should cease to be an occupied territory (b) There should be a joint control of the Administration and the Police (c) Our political prisoners should be released unconditionally (d) Civil liberties should be restored (e) Church intervention in politics should be stopped (f) and neutral observers should be appointed. Nothing short of this should induce the Indian Government to agree to a referendum.

Let these things be there and I assure you and all other Indian brethren that we sweep the polls in India's favour. For more than four centuries Goa is separated from India and she is longing to fall and rest in Mother India's lap.

Ladies and gentlemen, we were first to be slaves on this soil and perhaps last to be free ; but my faith tells me that we shall rise best. India's

courage, brush aside defeatism, strengthen faith, unite and work and the slavery started with that of Goa and so it ended with it. Let us pick up success is ours, to-day and forever.

Before I end, let me tell all of you that we in Goa worship our martyrs and heroes with stones instead of flowers, for flowers fade and stones inspire and endure. Heaps of such stones you will find by the way side in Goa known as 'Varandos' and many a time you must have seen passers by throwing stones in veneration of their beloved heroes. The message of these stones is that we who mean to bring food to the body and soul of the people should be prepared to receive stones during our lifetime as well as after death. May God bless us with strength to bear them, that is my prayer.

Jai Gomantak, Jai Hind.

Laxmanrao Sardesai,

Bombay,

Reception Committee.

Dated 7th January 1950.

Chairman.

GOAN POLITICAL CONFERENCE

(SECOND SESSION)

PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH

Honoured Guests,
Fellow Goans and friends,

I deeply appreciate the signal honour done to me by electing me President of this second session of the Goan Political Conference. I consider it both an honour and a privilege. Hitherto I have not taken active part in Goan politics. I belong to no particular school of thought as regards Goan affairs. But as a Goan I am, as I have always been, interested in the future of Goa and Goans. I can therefore promise to guide the deliberations of the Conference in a detached and dispassionate manner, and I crave your cooperation to enable me to fulfil my task.

The first Political Conference was held in June, 1947. The main objective of that Conference was to bring the various groups of workers in the political field on a common platform and thus secure support of the largest possible section of the Goan people both in this city and in Goa itself. At that first session it was unanimously resolved to demand that the Portuguese Rulers Quit Goa, and thus leave the people to integrate themselves into the Indian Union.

Within less than seven weeks after you had passed that resolution the British liquidated their Empire in India and this country of ours became free and independent. The great and glorious 15th of August dawned bringing joy and happiness all over this sub-continent, not excluding Goa. But our joy was tinged with sorrow because our homeland still remained under foreign domination. Nevertheless the independence of India held a ray of hope for us, and this could be seen from the celebrations held in Goa on memorable 15th of August.

Contrary to the common impression, Goa has never been happy under foreign yoke. Even while the British were fighting to consolidate their conquests in India, the Goans were attempting to throw off the foreign yoke. The constant uprisings in Bardez and Salsette; the revolt of the Ranes in Satari ; the rebellion of Dada Ranes that enveloped the whole of Goa ; a third armed revolt as late as 1912 ; all these proved that Goa was restless and aspired to drive out the foreign imperialists. Time and again the Portuguese had to suppress the people by bringing in armed forces from Portugal and Africa. All these are historical facts registered in the Official Gazette.

It was not therefore surprising when in 1946 the people of Goa, led by a few nationalists, again rose to a man to demand their birthright, the freedom of expression and association. The movement, inspired and guided by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia swept Goa like wild fire. But the armed might of the Portuguese Fascists was too strong, and the movement was driven underground by the severest of repression. Men like Tristao Braganza Cunha, Bhembre, Kakodkar, Hedge and others were deported to the island of Peniche off the coast of Portugal where they are today

dragging an existence that may be termed a " living death ". Others like young Dr. Mayenkar, E. George, Ticlo, Karapurkar, Shirodkar are under going sentences ranging from 8 years to 28 years Savagery that has no parallel in the history of the world.

This in brief is our political background, and it will be clear from what I have said above that Goa has never submitted to the foreigner, except at the point of the bayonet. There are Goans who have forgotten the land of their birth. There is no country in the world without such elements. We need not worry about them. But this does not mean that we should ignore them. It is the duty of all Goans who love their homeland to join in an effort to unite all the people of Goa to achieve the common goal, namely the emancipation of Goa.

Our political status, present and future, is intimately linked with economic factors. It is well-known to you that Goa is almost entirely dependent on India for its very existence. It has no industry except agriculture, and this too is being carried on in most primitive manner. What it produces cannot feed the people for more than four months. Goa therefore depends on imports of all the necessities of life. The exports being negligible there is every year a colossal adverse balance of trade, over 25 lakhs of rupees. This huge sum is made up by the remittances of the emigrants.

Let us now take a look at the State budget : The total income of the State is Rs. 120 lakhs. Of this over 80 per cent is absorbed by the services. The balance of 20 per cent is divided among the nation building departments, *viz.*, public works, health and education. The military establishment is by far the largest item of expenditure swallowing about 90 per cent of the total expenditure on the State services. With the constant flow of European and Negro troops, this expenditure is ever on the increase. It is, therefore, obvious that the Government of Goa as at present run, cannot improve the economy of the country.

Whatever our rulers may say or do, economically Goa cannot progress. or I would say, even survive, without a radical change in the economic set-up. And this means that your economy must be co-ordinated with the economy of India as a whole. Unless the customs barriers disappear and there is free flow of trade and commerce between Goa and the rest of India, we in Goa cannot expect to develop commercially and industrially From the economic viewpoint, therefore, it is evident that the interests of Goa lie in the integration of Goa into the Indian Union.

We all know that the petty *zamindars* the so-called *battcars*, and the traders, are not for integration. They fear that with the disappearance of the Portuguese masters, they will not have the things moving in the way they are moving now. The *zamindars* are at present paying in insignificant land-tax. Neither they nor the traders pay any income tax. They are, therefore, free to exploit the country without sharing their profits with the Government. This state of affairs, howsoever profitable to the landlords and the capitalists, is ruinous to the country.

Goa possesses considerable mineral wealth. Its numerous rivers can be advantageously utilized for irrigation purposes. The land, though at present impoverished due to the lack of a system of rotation of crops and adequate manuring, can be improved and made to produce much more than it does now. Our harbour, one of the best inland natural harbours, awaits development. But all this demands the investment of large amounts of capital. The local capitalists are not prepared to invest in the development

of industries. The Government have no money for this purpose as most of its income is absorbed in Maintaining the top-heavy administration. The manganese mining activities that are at present carried on in Goa are financed by men from the Indian Union, and with the help of outside labour.

Look as and where we may, we cannot get away from the fact that the future of Goa lies indissolubly tied with the rest of India. There is no getting away from this fact. Economically we are one with India, and our survival depends on our union with the rest of India. All attempts to supply the needs of Goa by imports from Portugal and Africa are but attempts to throw dust in the eyes of the people. India is our nearest and best source of supply, and for which we pay by the export of "human capital". Let us not forget this fact while we deliberate on the future status of our homeland.

Let us now turn for a moment to another aspect of the problem facing us : the socio-religious factor. For centuries the people of Goa have been living without the slightest tinge of religious differences. The social relations between the two sections of the population, the Christian and the non-Christian, have been cordial and friendly. This harmony in the life of Goa is now being insidiously disturbed. Religion is now being mixed up with politics. Attempts are being made to separate the two sister communities by raising the malicious cry of "religion in danger". It is the old, old weapon so effectively used by foreign imperialists for purpose of prolonging their hold on India, and with results that we all know.

It cannot be gainsaid that the Goan Christian due to a host of circumstances has acquired an identity of his own. He has assimilated and adopted to a great extent the western mode of life ; his religion, his dress and his way of living, are all factors which have led him to believe that he is something different from the rest of his fellow countrymen. But despite all his westernized ways of living, he has never ceased to be eastern in thought and action, as is witnessed by the hundred and one Indian customs which he still observes with a tenacity worthy of a better cause. The pomp and circumstance with which he celebrates his feasts, both religious and profane, his marriage customs, the dowry system, the caste divisions, all these point to one thing and that is, that despite the western veneer the Goan Christian still remains an Indian at heart.

But be that as it may, must we mix religion with politics ? In what way are the Catholics of Goa different from the Catholics from the South of India for example ? If the Indian Christian can be a good Christian and a patriotic Indian, why can a Goan not be a good Christian and a better patriot ? I am firmly of the opinion that we have nothing, absolutely nothing to fear as regards our religious liberty. India is a secular state. Its constitution has guaranteed religious freedom to one and all. We, therefore, should not allow this insidious enemy of religious differences to come between us and the rest of our countrymen in India.

To my non-Christian fellow countrymen I would say this : We have lived for centuries as brothers without a thought of our religious differences. We shall continue to live not as Hindis and Christians, but as Goans. Whatever the methods adopted by interested parties to create a division in our ranks, let us not fall a prey to their evil designs. Above all let not false fears lead us to break the solidarity in the ranks of Goans. Some of us may have closer affinities with people across the border. But that should not be allowed to interfere in or affect in the smallest degree the deliberations of this Conference.

There is no use in ignoring the fact that there are various currents of opinion among us as to the future status of Goa. But if we agree that first things must come first, then we must concentrate our efforts on one and one objective only : the emancipation of our homeland from foreign domination. The brave fighters for freedom who are today undergoing untold sufferings had but one thought, the thought of freedom of Goa. Are we to let them down by dissipating our forces in various directions ? Neither I nor you, all who have assembled here today have the right to decide the ultimate status of Goa.

There are enemies in our midst. The Portuguese rulers are actively sowing doubts and fears in the minds of the people with the object of dividing their ranks. The *zamindars* are being told that their lands will be confiscated ; the traders are being told that they will lose their freedom of trading ; the illiterate masses are being frightened with religious repression ; and the people as a whole are being threatened with annihilation pure and simple if they integrate into the Indian Republic. Nothing could be further from the truth. No thinking Goan accepts this vile propaganda. But it is an unfortunate fact that there are Goans who fall a pray to this propaganda, some consciously and others unconsciously.

For those who are selling their country for a mess of potage I only have contempt. But to those who are unconsciously falling into the trap laid by the Portuguese rulers, I appeal with all the force at my command and in the greatest of sincerity, to think before giving false lead to the unthinking masses. We all have our political opinions and differing ideologies, but here today, we are all Goans with but one thought, one objective in view : the emancipation of our homeland, our beloved Goa.

Fellow Goans. Let us unite, and let us fight unitedly, in the certainty that we shall not fight in vain. More, we shall fight with the support and cooperation, both official and non-official from our brothers in the Indian Republic. I advisedly use the word fight, because freedom cannot come as a gift. It must be won, and won at the sacrifice of toil and tears, and even blood. We have before us the shining and unforgettable example of the fighters for the Independence of India. We have before us the fruit of that fight. What we need is **UNITY, UNITY, UNITY**. Disruption in our ranks will only mean that we have forgotten the fighters who have sacrificed their all for their country. Let us show them that we are still carrying aloft the torch they lighted in 1946, and assure them that we shall not let it go out, until the last vestige of the foreign domination which has held us in bondage for the last four centuries and more is wiped off.

In the conclusion I earnestly appeal to you all to co-operate with me in conducting the deliberations of this Conference in a peaceful and orderly manner.

JAI HIND

7th February 1950

Goa's Future

For centuries the Portuguese have ruled their few Possessions in India with an iron hand. Confident of the backing of the British in the past, they suppressed ruthlessly any freedom movement and sentenced to inhumanly long terms of imprisonment leaders of the people. Many of them were transported to their African possessions, never to be heard of again. This had been possible because of the hold the Catholic Church has over the converts to Christianity there. Their apathy towards the freedom

movement and their false sense of security have made them give their allegiance to the Portuguese. But many of them have to migrate to India to earn their living and send remittances to their relatives in Goa. which keep this foreign possession economically alive. The Portuguese have done little to improve the lot of the common people but through the Church they hold undisputed sway over the minds of the Catholics. It is often forgotten that the non-Christian population forms a majority in Goa and has been in the forefront of the freedom movement there. India's preoccupation with her own struggle had prevented her so far from going to the Goan people's aid. But now the times have changed. Pandit Nehru's assurance in the Parliament that " there is not any doubt in the mind of the Government of India that Goa will have to come to India," would be welcomed by the people of Goa. Any intelligent Goan Christian should know how false and insulting are the remarks made by the Portuguese Consul General in East Africa that merger of Goa would endanger Christianity because the population of India was mainly Hindus and were of low culture. The time has come for them to decide whether they are with India or not.

Message of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan

UNITE AND MARCH TO FREEDOM

Dependence On Delhi, No Good—Jayaprakash Tells Goans

Bombay, Saturday.

India's Socialist leader Jayaprakash Narayan today called for a " psychological revolution in Goa so that the masses may spring to action and be inspired to do and dare."

He warned the Goans that they could not achieve freedom from foreign rule " merely by the intervention of the Government of India".

Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan was inaugurating the Second Session of the Goan Political Conference at the Cowasji Jehangir Hall convened to " express the voice of the Goan People."

Dr. M. U. Mascarenhas, former Mayor of Bombay, presided over the two-day Conference.

About 500 delegates from all over India attended the Second Session of the Conference. Professor Lakshmanrao Sardesai welcomed the delegates.

Mr. L. J. D'Souza, General Secretary of the Reception Committee, while proposing Dr. Mascarenhas to the Chair, refuted the allegation that the Conference was unrepresentative and stated that the charge was inspired.

Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, speaking in slow and steady accents warned the Goans that they could not expect to achieve freedom from alien rule merely by the intervention of the Government of India.

"Looking at the activities of the Government of India in these spheres, it seems to me that the policy it follows is not as vigorous as the situation demands. The Government may be experiencing many difficulties, but still. the attitude which it is showing towards the affairs in Nepal and kindred matters, is weak and is not clear, vigorous or firm. This policy of drift is not going to yield tangible results " he said.

Salazar Terror.

Referring to the internal conditions in Goa, the Socialist leader stated that they were as bad as they could be "in any Fascist dominated country".

The people were denied the most elementary rights and terror was *let* loose on persons who chose to think in terms of freedom from foreign domination.

He pointed out that even the right to visit the men imprisoned for participation in the freedom fight, was denied and said that Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, when he was in London was refused permission by the Portuguese authorities to interview the Goans who were interned in Portugal.

Asia Awake

Mr. Jayaprakash observed that the days of imperialism in Asia were done and that every vestige of foreign domination and exploitation would disappear from the soil of Asia soon. The countries of Asia which were all along been suffering from alien rule and economic subordination would be able to come together, pool their resources and form a united bloc against European and other imperialisms.

In this connection, the two giants in Asia which had recently sprung into power, China and India, could do a lot in going to the help of the people who were still oppressed by alien rule, he added.

But he said, although India had attained undoubted leadership and position in the councils of Asia due to Mahatma Gandhi's efforts, it was not making as much headway as could be expected. The Indian Government, by reason of the lack of effective opposition in the country was taking advantage of the "absolute power" in its hands and acting in an "autocratic and high handed manner".

Unite and Struggle

He advised the Goans not to put too much faith in the intervention of the Government of India. They must themselves unite, whatever their differences might be and with unanimous resolve, organise effective struggle against the Portuguese rule.

He suggested that they might adopt the Weapon of *Satyagraha* which Gandhi had used so successfully against the British regime for achieving their objective. But the weapon required men of moral courage and spirit who could inspire the ordinary people to heroic action, he added.

Link with India

Dr. M. U. Mascarenhas, in his presidential address, said that the Goans could not get away from the fact that the future of Goa lay indissolubly with the rest of India both politically and economically. "We are one with India and all attempts to supply Goa by imports from Portugal and Africa were attempts to throw dust in the eyes of the people."

He stated that Goa's political status was linked by economic factors and its very existence depended on assistance from India.

Later, there was a meeting of the Subjects Committee, which discussed the draft resolutions to be placed at the open session on Sunday morning.

The Sunday Chronicle, dated 8th January 1950.

GOA POLITICAL CONFERENCE

Asian Bloc to Hasten Freedom for all

J. P. Narain's Plea : Call to Goans to Unite.

The necessity of sinking differences of language, culture and religion for the achievement of freedom of Goa was stressed by Mr. Jaiprakash

Narain, Socialist Leader, in the course of his inaugural address to the Second Session of the Goan Political Conference at Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall this evening. Mr. Jaiprakash added that without the intervention of the Government of India, the people of Goa would not be able to achieve freedom.

"The policy of the Government of India in its dealings with foreign imperialist powers," the speaker emphasised, " was weak, India should do all it can towards helping the people of Goa to throw off the Portuguese yoke and the people of this country as well as the Goans should exert their influence upon the Indian Government to intervene in the political struggle of the Goans."

Expressing the opinion that a bloc of Asian countries would hasten the day of freedom for all foreign-dominated nations on the continent of Asia, Mr. Jaiprakash said that India was in a singularly favourable position to convene a conference of Asian countries for this purpose, because despite privations and various other difficulties which confronted the country, the stable conditions which prevailed in this country placed India in a dominant position. If only India and China came together much could be done to free the smaller nations who were under foreign yoke.

The speaker added that the nations who were under foreign rule could also take a vital step in realising their aspirations for independence and the elimination of European powers from Asian soil by pooling their resources and coming together to form a bloc against their rulers.

Concluding the speaker stated that since the desire for freedom was deep rooted, he had no doubt that the people of Goa would find a solution to their problems of language, culture and religion, and that the current conference would find the ways and means to unify the people and weld them together in their cause.

Goa's future linked with India

Dr. M. U. Mascarenhas, who presided over the deliberations of the conference, stated that the future of Goa was indissolubly linked with that of India, and that the integration of the former with the latter was essential for the economic welfare of the Goans. Goa could not progress without the co-ordination of its resources with those of this country.

Prof. Laxmanrao Sardesai welcomed the guests and introduced the speakers to the gathering.

A call to the Goan people

Boycott bogus conference to be held at C. J. Hall on 7th and 8th January in name of Goans.

A large section of Reception Committee members of the Second Goan Political Conference to be held on the 7th and 8th inst. walked out in protest from a preliminary meeting convened on the 27th December 1949, at the Forbes Gujarathi Hall. It is unfortunate that we Goans cannot pull together at this critical juncture in Goan History. It is therefore necessary to thoroughly expose the opportunists and self-seekers who want to dominate the Conference with manouevred majority and to disrupt the working unity.

We were aware that the first Goan Political Conference in June 1947 was poorly attended and was a mismanaged fiasco. We were also aware that the Standing Committee appointed in this Conference to implement **QUIT GOA** resolution did not even move once during the last two years

but were only stirred from lethargy to convene a **SECOND** Goan Conference in 1950. We also knew that important sections from amongst the Goan People were not invited to this meeting at Podar College which was intended to be a closed door affair. *In spite of all this, we decided to participate in the preliminaries of the Conference because we sincerely believe that there is a strong and pressing urge amongst the Goan People for Unity and Struggle to achieve the liberation of Goa.* From the very outset, we realised that the Conference would fail as a United Front of the Goan People. The petty minded individuals who were in charge of the organisation of the Conference were acting like perfect autocrats"

Every democratic procedure was thrown to the winds and the manipulated mechanical majority in the Reception Committee ruled out of order every suggestion brought forward to make the conference a genuine **MASS CONFERENCE**.

The right of delegates to choose the President of the Conference has been denied and the President has already been fixed in spite of protests. Rival suggestions for Presidentship of patriots like Tristao Braganza-Cunha now undergoing an eight years sentence in exile in Portugal was highhandedly ruled out of order on technical grounds.

A request to make the Conference the genuine voice of the Goan People through mass enrolment of delegates on a nominal fee of As. 4 was opposed. The delegation fee has been fixed at Re. 1. and even visitors to the Conference will have to pay annas 4 as entrance fee, a highly undemocratic formula for a political Conference. A further request signed by 300 Goans to make the Conference a Mass Political Conference was turned down and ruled out of order by the Chairman of the Reception Committee even after a promise to enroll 1000 delegates was made.

We know that the organisers of the Conference are not serious about the liberation of Goa through a struggle and the building and strengthening of the democratic movement. All they seem to be keen upon is to parade themselves on the platform that the Conference offers, once again pass the much advertised " Quit Goa " resolution and then sink back into their normal pursuits of life. Hence all militant sections which meant to make the Conference a real fighting basis for mass action in Goa were thoroughly disillusioned with these arm-chair politicians and their highhandedness and had no other alternative but to walk out.

The reactionary nature of the Conference is further obvious from the manner in which Dr. Ubaldo Mascharanas has been foisted on the Conference as its president. Which Goan has forgotten that only a year ago Dr. Mascharanas presiding at a reception organised by Salazar stooges to welcome the officers and crew of the notorious gunrunning Portuguese destroyer ' Gonsalves Zarco' announced that Goans did not want the Portuguese to leave Goa and if the Salazar Government offers a few reforms the 'Quit Goa' slogan will be transformed into 'Remain in Goa'.

Socialist Peter Alvares has also entirely ignored the career and political jumpover of Dr. Mascharanas, president to be of the Conference which is to be inaugurated by Shri Jai Prakash Narayan, his colleague. Has Socialist Peter Alvares forgotten that his another colleague Dr. Ram Manohar Luhia had recently condemned Dr. Mascharanas as a Portuguese stooge at a press conference held in Bombay.

We call upon all those honest Goans who may have been hoodwinked into becoming members of this Conference to boycott this bogus pretence

which while talking in terms of liquidating Portuguese Rule only means to cater to the selfish ends of a few opportunists and vote catchers not in the least interested in the real liberation of the Goan people from tyranny and enslavement. It is a well-known fact that the organisers of the Conference were no where on the scene when Goa struggled for Civil Liberties and hundreds of Goan *Satyagrahis* courted arrest and faced the Portuguese bayonets in defiance of the bans.

The Central Committee of the Goan Peoples' Party means to convene a Mass Political Convention in co-operation with other militant sections from amongst political forces working in Goa. The convention would undertake to prepare the people for a democratic revolution and the establishment of a peoples' democracy for Goa. Freedom shall mean nothing without the masses being actively brought into the struggle for it.

Down with Portuguese fascist Rule in Goa. Fight Portuguese terror used against Political Workers.

We demand release of all Goan patriots. Down with opportunist and quislings who have betrayed the Goan Liberation Struggle.

Goan Peoples' Party

Neptune Building

166 Hornby Road,

Fort, Bombay.

6th January 1950.

GEORGE VAZ,

General Secretary.

SSB., S.B. (L), 9th January 1950

The Goan Political Conference

The Goan Political Conference (second session) was held in the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall, Bombay, on Saturday the 7th and Sunday the 8th January 1950. About 1000 persons were present on the 7th inst. when the Conference was opened by Mr. Laxmanrao Sardesai the Chairman of the Reception Committee at 4 p.m. He delivered a speech in Marathi.

Mr. S. B. D'Silva, Advocate, who followed him criticised a leaflet that was being distributed outside the Hall asking the Goans to boycott the Conference. He stated that Mr. George Vaz the Secretary of the Goan Peoples Party who had written and published the leaflet had during the preliminary meeting of the Reception Committee disagreed on the question of fees to be charged to the delegates and had suggested that it should be annas four instead of rupee one. As the majority were against this proposal he and a few friends of his walked out. The people attending the Conference were not dissuaded by these leaflets. Mr. L. J. D'Souza, the Secretary of the Committee then spoke in Konkani and requested the Goans to apply their mind to the problem of their emancipation and also suggested that the mischievous George Vaz should be ignored.

By this time it was 5 p.m. and Mr. Jay Prakash Narayan arrived and inaugurated the Conference. In a speech in English which he delivered for nearly half an hour Jay Prakash criticised the policy of the Government of India towards Goa as one of drift and hoped that Pandit Nehru would once for all make his policy clear and firm. He offered his congratulations to all those Goan Patriots who were pining behind bars in Goa and in the Portuguese Colonies for their only offence of fighting for their freedom and held up their example to the other Goans. He foresaw that the day when the Portuguese would quit Goa and their other possessions in India was not far off and the fight for the freedom of Goa was a drive in which

all the Asian countries were concerned. He, however, declined to give any suggestions as to how Goa should be ruled or to which part or province in India it should be merged as that question was entirely left to the people of Goa and whose voice would ultimately prevail.

Poet Borkar sang some poems in honour of the Goan Martyrs after which the session closed.

The subjects committee met on Sunday morning at 10 a.m. and continued their deliberations till 2 p.m.

While an amendment was proposed, one Mr. R. V. Athaide of the Radical Democratic Party rose to speak on the amendment of the resolution and objected to the words "sovereign democratic republic" as mentioned therein. Protests followed and Mr. Athaide had to withdraw. The Subjects Committee Session was attended by about 300 persons.

At 6 pm. the Session was continued and Mr. Vasant Borkar moved a resolution praising the fight put up by the Goan fighters such as Triesato Braganza De Cunha, E. George Ticlo and others against the Portuguese might. The same was seconded by Mr. Kashinath Lad and was passed.

Dr. Ubaldo Mascarenhas who presided over the Conference thanked all those who made the Conference a success and Mr. L. J. D'Souza who spoke next said that their work had not ended but begun with the Conference. The Conference terminated at 7 p.m.

A cultural programme consisting of Indian dances and Western music was then gone through at which about a thousand persons were present including Shrimati Kamlabai Chattopadhyaya. This programme terminated at 8/40 p.m. without any untoward incident.

(Signed) S. I. of Police.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), January 9.

Goan Political Conference

The Subject Committee met on Sunday, morning at 10 a.m. and continued their deliberations till 2 pm. The president, Messrs. Peter Alwares. Borker, S. B. D'Silva, V. Singhbal, Waman Desai, B. D. Satoskar, Laxmanrao Sardesai, J. J. Shinkre and others made speeches in support of the following resolutions :—

1. Condolence resolution regarding the death of Mahatma Gandhi.
2. Condolence resolution regarding the deaths of Messrs. V. N. Mayenkar and Hegde-Desai.
3. Demanding unconditional withdrawal of the Portuguese Government from Goa, Daman and Diu.
4. Declaring that the Goans were not satisfied with any political statute from the Portuguese Government and further demanding their immediate withdrawal.
5. Placing on record the sacrifices of the Goans who were rotting in various jails, for the country's freedom, condemning the Portuguese Government for passing monstrous sentences varying from 4 years to 28 years and demanding their immediate release.
6. Appointing a Standing Committee of 23 Goans including Messrs. S. B. D'Silva, Waman Desai, Peter Alwares, V. Singhbal etc.

7. Authorising the Standing Committee to appoint Commission of a few non-political Goans to collect evidence and statistics with a view to ascertain the political position of Goa after achieving their freedom.

8. Declaring their support to the struggle of the peasants of Maye, Ozari, Kunkalali against the *Zamindars*.

9. Declaring their support to the struggle of the National Congress (Goa) for freedom.

10. Expressing their gratitude to the Indian National Congress for its moral support to their struggle.

The President in his speech pointed out that the main object of the Conference was to bring the various groups of workers in the political field on a common platform and to get the support of the largest possible section to their struggle for freedom. He finally urged the audience to unite and show to the Portuguese Rulers that they were still carrying aloft the torch they lighted in 1946. He hoped that they would get the support of the Indian Republic to their struggle.

One Mr. Lobo while opposing Resolution No. 3 made nasty remarks against the Indian Government. It was not tolerated by the audience and he was asked to withdraw the remarks. He did so.

Dr. Telu Mascarenhas who delivered his speech in Portuguese language, strongly criticised some clergy from Mazgaon Church who had made false propaganda amongst the Christian community that he was a Communist and further appealed to the audience to strengthen the National Congress (Goa).

The last three resolutions were adopted in the evening session.

The Session terminated at about 6-30 p.m. on 8th January 1950, and it was followed by a Cultural programme.

Special Branch (I), C. I. D.
Bombay, 9th January 1950.

Sir,

Under the auspices of the Goan People's Party, a public meeting attended by about 30 persons, was held at Cama Hall, Fort, Bombay, on 8th January 1950 at about 10-30 a.m. Mr. Krishna Lawande presided and Messrs. George Vaz, F. Bareto Dominic Fernandes and F. Perehra made speeches in support of a resolution which was passed unanimously.

The president speaking in Konkani strongly protested against the long term sentences passed against certain political detenus by the Mapuca Court of the Portuguese Fascist Government at Goa. He further said that the repressive measures adopted by that Government should be condemned outright not only by Goans but by other Indians also and an organised vigorous struggle should be launched to compel the Portuguese to quit Goa immediately like the Britishers in case of India.

Mr. George Vaz speaking in support of the resolution related the aspects of the political movement and uprising progressing within and outside Goa. He stated that the foreigners like the Portuguese wanted strongly to maintain their undemocratic hold on Goa by merely resorting to all sorts of fascist and ruthless methods. Indian Government had promised that the problem of freedom of Goa and its integration with the Indian Union would be solved in the near future on diplomatic level

but nothing practical had so far been done since India achieved independence. The speaker further appealed all Goans and other Indians not so much to depend on Government of India for help in winning freedom but strongly organise all the militant forces-irrespective of their differences to fight against the Portuguese imperialists.

The other speakers spoke in the same strain and supported the resolution.

The meeting terminated peacefully at about 11-30 p.m.

Meeting of the Goan People's party, Cama Oriental Hall, Sunday 8th January 1950.

Protest Resolution

The Portuguese Fascist of Goa had a sham trial at the Mapuca Court lasting 7 days, where nine Goan resistance workers were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Exactly at 1 p. m. on the 23rd December the verdict was given in the Court Room which was heavily guarded with armed troops. Viswanath Lawande, Dattetraya Atmaram Deshpande, Narayan Naik and three others were sentenced to terms of imprisonment of 29 years each, Prabhakar Sinari to 13 years rigorous imprisonment and Mukund Dakonkar and Samant to 6½ years each. All the prisoners except three have been in Portuguese detention for the last two years.

The prisoners have faced the severest treatment while in custody being allowed a ration of ten pice a day, having to do their own cooking in filthy jail conditions. No literature or books have been allowed to the prisoners and religious books like the *Bible* and *Gita* that were allowed to them were torn and trampled upon by Negro Troops who entered the cells and beat the prisoners until they were unconscious. On four occasions the detenus had to undertake a hunger strike and Raghuvir Kamat and Deshpande were very near death on two occasions the life of Deshpande being saved on the intervention of the Indian Consul, Deshpande being an Indian subject.

The long term sentences passed against these young men is a crime against humanity, especially when we know that not a single charge framed against the prisoners could be proved in the open Court. This Meeting of the Goans condemns this fascist terror let loose against the political workers of Goa where intimidation and torture have been used to get confessions from the detenus. This Meeting calls upon all Goans and patriotic Indians to protest against these sentences and demand the release of all Goan patriots and the re-patriation of Tristao Braganza Cunha and other political workers now in exile in Portugal.

This meeting of the Goan People assures the detenus and political prisoners that we shall not rest content until we get our leaders back amongst us.

Proposed on behalf of the Central Committee of the Goan Peoples' Party. 8th January 1950.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 9th January 1950.

Portuguese must Quit Goa

PEOPLE ASKED TO PUT UP UNITED STAND

City Political Conference Concludes

The Goan Political Conference, which concluded its two-day session to-day, called upon the people of Goa, Daman and Diu, to demand with one voice that the Portuguese should unconditionally withdraw from these

territories and to give whole-hearted support to the movement to bring about the deliverance of these territories "from the stifling grip of the foreigner", and the integration of these territories into the framework of the sovereign democratic Republic of India. Dr. M. U. Mascarenhas, ex-Mayor of Bombay, presided.

Mr. Peter Alvares, Socialist leader of Bombay, moving the main political resolution observed that events in India and the East were moving rapidly forward towards the liberation of colonial people and everywhere the imperial powers had recognised the upsurge and determination of the people and were conceding political freedom. But, the territories held by the French and the Portuguese, Mr. Alvares said still remained unliberated. The Portuguese meanwhile had taken advantage to strengthen their position by instilling fear into the hearts of the people by savage repression, increasing military force, denial of civil liberties, sowing the seeds of dissension and invoking religious tears.

Mr. B. K. Borkar, the well-known Marathi poet seconded the resolution.

NOTHING BUT FREEDOM

Referring to Premier Salazar's offer to amend the Constitution of Portugal to meet the aspiration of the Goan people, the Conference declared that they wanted "nothing of Portugal short of its complete and unconditional withdrawal from the soil of their homeland."

The conference mourned the death of the late Mr. V. N. Mayekar, a veteran in Goa's struggle for freedom and the late Mr. Hedge Desai, Editor of *Bharat*, Goa, and a valiant freedom-fighter and observed that the lives of these two sons, with their steadfastness and courage, will serve as beacon-lights to us all who have yet to tread the thorny path of freedom.

Bombay City, Special Branch (1), January 9, 1950

Under the auspices of the Goan People's Party, a public meeting attended about 30 persons was held at Cama Hall, Fort, Bombay, on January 8, 1950, when Mr. Krishna Lawande presided and Messrs. George Vaz, F. Bareto, Dominic Fernandes and F. Pareira made speeches in support of a resolution protesting and condemning the heavy sentences passed on certain Goan political detainees by the Mapuca Court of the Portuguese Government at Goa.

Mr. George Vaz, an active member of the party appealed to the audience to give whole hearted co-operation to the party in its fight for Goan's freedom.

Protest meeting of the Goans

A public meeting of the Goans of Bombay, was held in the I. L. I. Hall, Burrows Lane, Girgaum, Bombay, to protest against the dismissal of Mr. Viegas, Principal of the Little Flower of Jesus High School by the Goan Union which runs the school. The meeting was held on Sunday the 15th inst. commencing 10-45 a.m.

About one thousand persons were present including the students of the school. The latter were accommodated in the galleries.

Mr. Ignatius Funseca, Editor of the *Angololusitano*, presided.

The following resolutions were passed.

I. This meeting condemns the action of the Central Council of the Goan Union in suddenly dismissing the principal.

Moved by Mr. H. Godinho, Advocate and seconded by Mr. Henry D'Souza, Editor of the "Chabuk".

II. This meeting condemns the management of the Union in publishing a defamatory leaflet to the public re. Principal Viegas. Moved by Mr. S. D'Souza and seconded by Mr. Farias, the original resolution was amended by Mr. Pompei Viegas who added the sentence " re. Principal Viegas".

III. This meeting again calls upon the Central Council to resign and to make room to change the management of the Council : Proposed by Mr. J J. Miranda and seconded by Mr. J. M. D'Souza.

IV. This meeting considers the present central council of the Goan Union unfit to conduct an educational institution in which children of the Goan people are being educated and calls upon responsible members of the Goans Community to take suitable steps to take charge of the Goan Council forthwith : Moved by Mr. Pompei Viegas and seconded by Mr. Pereira.

V. This meeting appoints a Committee of 10 persons to take an injunction against the Goan Union from the High Court or to take such other legal steps to safeguard the interest of the Little Flower of Jesus High School.

Moved by Mr. Menezes. and seconded by Mr. H. D'Souza.

VI. This meeting endorses a memorandum which prominent Goans have sent to the Government of Bombay, Education Department describing how the Goa Union has made unfounded allegations against the Principal (Mr. Viegas) who is liked by the teachers and the students alike.

The president spoke in English and most of the other speeches were in Konkani. All the speakers said that the school should be salvaged from the hands of the Central Committee of the Goan Union, which had unnecessarily interfered with the efficient management of the school and that Mr. Viegas who was an able and highly educated Principal should be reinstated.

The appointment of the following men was approved on the committee in terms resolution.

1. Mr. Henry D'Souza,
2. Mr. J. M. D'Souza,
3. Mr. Joachim Dias, Advocate,
4. Mr. Pompei Viegas,
5. Mr. Dr. P. Moraes,
6. Mr. J. J. Miranda, Advocate,
7. Mr. H. Gobinho, Advocate,
8. Mr. B. M. Leniz,
9. F. X. Affonso, Editor, " Goa Mail".
10. Ignatius Fonseca, Editor, " A nglo Lusitano ".

Mr. Waman Desai, Secretary, Goa Congress was shouted down while speaking in Konkani on resolution No. 1 for making reference to Politics and the President ruled him out of order.

Elaborate police arrangements were made by the Princess Street Police Station.

The meeting terminated at 1-45 p.m.

Sub-Inspector of Police.

SSB. S. B. I

Resubmitted.

2. Secretary has orally directed that as the subject matter of the G. of I.'s communication mainly concerns the P. & S. D., it may be made over to that Department for necessary action and that the P. & S. D. may consult this Department regarding points which pertain to H. D. The G. of I.'s letter with its accompt. and the notes recorded thereon may, therefore, be made over to the P. & S. D. for necessary action after retaining copies for our record.

(Signed)

Draft endorsement (with F. C.) put up.

Below U. O. R. No. 4967/46-A/4209, dated the 31st January 1950.

Returned with compliments. 2. As regards the suggestions made by the Consul General for India

in the Portuguese possessions in India J. would like to offer the following comments : —

(a) The Goan Union is a more representative body than the Goan Association, and has a large membership than the Goan Association. The Goan Association is a pro-Portuguese body and is kept up by the favour of Mr. Ignatius Fonseca as President and Mr. Pompei Viegas as Secretary. Both of them are spreading propaganda in favour of the Portuguese Government. The Goan Union has recently become unpopular with a section of the Goan community in Bombay, on account of the dismissal of Mr. Eustacio Viegas, the Principal of the Little Flower of Jesus High School, Princess Street, Bombay which is conducted by the Goan Union. The Goan Association has taken advantage of this unpopularity to win over the Goans to their point of view, Mr. Eustacio Viegas is an associate of Mr. Pompei Viegas and is a relation of Mr. A. P. J. Fernandez, the Vice-Consul for Portugal, in Bombay. Some members of the Goan Association have made allegations of misappropriation of funds by the Goan Union and a Committee has been appointed to go into the matter with a view to prosecute the office-bearers of the Goan Union. It will not, therefore, be possible to replace the Goan Association with the Goan Union especially, as the Goan Association has the support of the Portuguese Consul in Bombay and the agents of the Portuguese Government in Bombay.

(b) The Goan Association cannot be suppressed for the reasons mentioned above, but the suggestion put forward by the Consul General that Mr. Pompei Viegas, the General Secretary of the Association should be deported is fully approved. Mr. Pompei Viegas was recently arrested and detained under the B. P. S. M. Act, but was released under orders of Government

The reasons that led to the arrest and detention of Mr. Pompei Viegas and Mr. Martin Pinto an under-ground Portuguese Propagandist have been set out in detail in my D. O. No. 1679/A, dated 6th February 1950 addressed to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay. The orders of the Government of India may please be obtained for the deportation of these two individuals under the Foreigners Act.

(c) The Konkani Papers "Ave Maria", "Chabuk" and the "Goa Mail" are pro-Portuguese in tone. They have blacked out the statement of the Honourable the Prime Minister of India, on Goan Affairs made by him in the Parliament on 6th February 1950. It is not possible to suspend them as the Press Advisory Committee appointed by the Govern-

ment of Bombay, may not agree to such a suggestion, unless specific objectionable material is brought to the notice of the Committee and not the general tone of comments.

(d) Mr. Ignatious Fonseca, the President of the Goan Association and the editor of the *Anglo Lusitano* is a retired Superintendent of the Dead Letter Office, Indian Post and Telegraph Department, Bombay. Both through the Association and the paper he has spread pro-Portuguese propaganda amongst the Goans in Bombay. If deemed fit, Government may take suitable action against him. It will be difficult to dissuade him from indulging in such propaganda.

Times of India, dated 11th February 1950.

Portuguese Press Views

Lisbon, February 10 : Portugal would not give up, or rent any of her territory declared " *Dairo da Manha*," the Government Party newspaper, today.

It was commenting on Pandit Nehru's statement to the Indian Parliament on February 6, that Goa " will have to come to India."

Most Portuguese morning papers commented prominently on the statement, published for the first time today after a censorship ban. P. T. I. Reuter.

S. S. B. S. B. (I),

13th February 1950.

GOA POLITICS

Sir,

It is reported by a " source " that Pandit Nehru's statement made in the Indian Parliament on 6th February 1950 that Goa should merge with the Indian Republic has been blacked out by the under mentioned Goan papers printed and published in Bombay :

1. *Goa Mail* 2. *Chabuk*.

This may please be forwarded to the Superintendent S. B. (I), Senior through the " H " Branch for his information.

Times of India, dated 15th February 1950.

Inside Goa

To the Editor, " *The Times of India*"

Sir,

" There is no doubt in the mind of the Government of India that Goa will have to come to India ", said Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, in a recent statement on the future of the Portuguese Indian possessions. But will all Goan aspirations be readily satisfied by the hope expressed by him?

Freedom has two facets which must go together. It means emancipation from an environment which represses our growth and hampers our progress, and the creation of another set of congenial conditions which would favour our unrestricted development and advancement according to our own genius, ideals and traditions. That is the meaning of freedom and independence.

The point is that when we talk of elimination of foreign authority and transfer of power in Goa; it can be only thought of in the form of a definite and positive scheme and constitution and setting up of Government to.

which the power and authority of the Portuguese can be transferred and which could take the place of foreign authority. Indians have never cared to define freedom and independence in such terms and that is why they have failed to inspire confidence among large sections of Goans.

For Goans, freedom must mean real power to build up their life and Latin culture, or in other words a system of Government under which they can thrive and grow according to their own genius and aptitude. We have no desire to exchange " King Log for King Stork ".

D. SANTOS

Bombay, February, 9.

To the Editor, " *Times of India* ".

Sir,

Mr. A. A. Bruto da Costa, retired Judge of the High Court, in a recent article in the *Heraldo*, a Goan newspaper here, condemns Dr. Mascarenhas, ex-Mayor of Bombay, as a traitor for having said that Goa should be given its freedom. He argues that the people of Goa have not commissioned Dr. Mascarenhas to be their spokesman and continues that the people of Goa are happy under the Portuguese flag and that they do not want any other freedom. One wonders who has commissioned Mr. Bruto da Costa to convey these so-called popular feelings and aspirations.

The fact deserves mention that here in Goa there is public opinion apart from the one dictated by Government an opinion which if expressed is punishable by law.

A. DE SOUZA,

Goa, February, 10.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 16th February 1950.

Goa's Future

All Goans will agree with Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, when he says that " Goa will have to come to India " and that " Goa's destiny lies with India ". No amount of censorship bars on the part of the Portuguese authorities at Goa and Lisbon will succeed in blacking out this sentiment.

Goa historically lies with India and the destinies of the Goan people are intimately connected with the destinies of the Indian people. Throughout the colonial and dependent countries of Asia, powerful liberation movements have developed which are sounding the death-knell of Imperialism in Asia. And the few arrogant Portuguese Ministers and officials who talk in terms of retaining the Portuguese Colony of Goa are not going to alter the course of history. The statement issued by the Portuguese Government paper " *Dairo da Manha* " that " Portugal would not give up, or rent any. of her territories " is, if anything, foolish. The Goan people shall force them to go.

Goa's connection with the Portuguese Empire has brought nothing but poverty and degradation to the local people. Goa, once a prosperous sea-port on the West coast of India, the rendezvous of traders and merchants from Europe, Arabia, China and Japan, today lies desolate with her towns and villages deserted and her people scattered to the seven seas. In the grip of a top-heavy administration of a Clerical-Fascist State and a decadent feudal oligarchy, her people are forced to live a life of poverty and degradation and migrate every year in large numbers in search of the barest

necessities of life. This process of pauperization can only end when Goa aligns herself with Independent India and her people line up with the Indian people in the struggle for full freedom and a people's democracy.

The Goan people would have greeted the Prime Minister's statement with greater enthusiasm if he had demanded the re-patriation of our patriots now kept as hostages in the Portuguese overseas penal servitude of Peniche Fortress and the unconditional release of all Goan political prisoners now detained at Aguada and Reismagos Fortresses serving sentences from 15 to 28 years rigorous imprisonment; and the "granting of full civil liberties in the struggle for which 1,000 Goan *satyagrahis* courted arrest in 1946-47.

GEORGE VAZ,

General Secretary,
Goan People's Party.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 2nd March 1950

Goans Are Indians First and Last

Comment On Protest

Bombay, Thursday : The General Secretary of the Goa National Congress, Mr. Waman Desai, has stated that "If civil liberties existed in Goa today, the Goans would have expressed their feelings that they are Indians and not Portuguese".

Mr. Desai, was commenting on the reported protest of the members of the Portuguese Parliament against Prime Minister Pandit Nehru's statement that " Goa will come to India ".

Mr. Desai said : " Goans are always Indians first and Indians last and will never be Portuguese. It is the right of Goans to decide the fate of Goa and not of the Portuguese M. P.s. and if the Portuguese want to maintain the cordial and friendly relations with the Indian people, it will be when they quit the Indian soil.

Free Press Journal, dated 2nd March 1950

Merger of Goa—I

The recent statement of Pandit Nehru that " Goa will have to come to India" has thrilled the masses. The people of Goa have been waiting for such an epochmaking pronouncement. In the event of Goa's merger with the mother country—and this must come about—the pernicious caste system will be a thing of the past. Goa is a mere district, with a population of some five lakhs. Of these the Hindus constitute 52 per cent. and the Muslim number well nigh 12,000. The rest are Indian Christians. The Christians have their roots in the soil. Geographically, ethnologically and culturally, the inhabitants of Goa are one with the people of India. Their future is bound up with that of their brothers and sisters in the sub-continent. The talk of a " system of Government under which they (Goans) can thrive and grow according to their own genius and aptitude" seems meaningless and ridiculous. India can embrace every community and region that rightly and naturally belongs to her. The interests of the common man, whether it be in Goa or in some other district, will always be safeguarded

Dr. J. DESAI.

Merger of Goa—II

The Prime Minister's statement in the Indian Parliament that Goa, one day will have to join India has created a controversy among Goans in the Indian press. A news item from Goa says that the Legislative Council of Goa has passed a resolution protesting against the statement. The only right answer to all this fuss lies, however, in a fair and impartial plebiscite which must be fought, not on cultural claims of a handful of individuals, but on historical traditions, cultural affinity, geographical oneness and economical factors of Goa as a whole.

P. Gaonkar.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 20th March 1950.

Goans Pledge Loyalty to India

Portuguese Repressive Measures Condemned

Bombay, Sunday.

A crowded meeting of the City Goans, held at Mody Hall this evening, pledged its unstinted loyalty to the Union of India. A resolution, unanimously passed on the occasion, hailed with satisfaction the recent declaration of Prime Minister Nehru in the Parliament, that "Goa would undoubtedly join India."

Mr. Anthony D'Mello, noted sportsman, who presided, said, that diplomatic and economic pressure would be required, before the Portuguese territories, which were like "foreign pimples on the map of India" were taken over. He welcomed the idea of plebiscite in the Portuguese territories of India.

Mr. D'Mello averred that Goans in India regarded territories under Portuguese control as essentially Indian, and thought, that their transfer to India was the logical conclusion of the British departure from India. He added, "For 450 years we have remitted funds to Goa, not for improving the lot of our brethren who live there on the verge of starvation, but for financing a top-heavy administration of the Portuguese the remnant of a decadent feudal oligarchy".

Forced to leave

Mr. D'Mello said that hundreds and thousands of Goans had been forced to leave their fields and villages to migrate to the neighbouring territories, with a view to finding the barest necessities of life.

While appealing for restraint and prudence, he suggested that a Caretaker Government of Goans from all parts of the country should take over the administration from the Salazar Government for a fixed period of time before the Government of India took the final charge of the territory.

One of the resolutions passed at the meeting, emphatically protested against the Goan Government's claim that " all Goans were Europeans ". The resolution added that the Portuguese were terrorising an unarmed people in to submission of their " unholy regime" and that Goans were Indians first and last, as Goa was only a part of India.

The resolution added that " not a single Goan would be found to support the Portuguese in Goa, if all the existing restrictions were removed, and freedom of the press and speech were restored ".

The resolution also characterised the " so called protest" against Goa's merger as propaganda arranged by the Portuguese Government through their agents and stooges.

" Wait and Watch "

Mr. S. V. D'Silva, President of the Goa National Congress, called upon Goans to act rather than wait and watch as they had hitherto done. Portugal, he said, is flourishing the Atlantic Pact at India to keep Goa under eternal subjugation, but the Atlantic Pact only allowed them to defend against aggression in Europe and right of consultation in case of any major crisis. He added, " If the Indian army marched into Goa, it would take only ten hours to occupy the whole territory. The Portuguese Government can then consult other nations of the Atlantic Pact in the matter."

One more resolution passed at the meeting called upon the National Congress of Goa to prepare the people of Goa for a final struggle for freedom.

Merger of Portuguese Possessions Demanded

Bombay Goans' Support to Pandit Nehru.

A pledge to support the Prime Minister of India in his efforts to get the Portuguese territories in this country merged with the Indian Union was taken by the Goan community in Bombay at a largely attended public meeting on Sunday, organised by the National Congress (Goa).

Mr. A. S. de Mello, President of the Board of Control for Cricket in India, who presided demanded of the Portuguese Government the immediate formation Of a "Care-taker Government" for Goa. He said the formation of such a Government would enable smooth transference of the territories to India.

While deciding that steps should be taken without delay to prepare the people of Goa for a "non-violent resistance" movement, the Goan community in Bombay challenged the Portuguese Government to ascertain public opinion on the future of Goa. This should be done only after suspending for a week the oppressive laws against freedom of the press, speech and association, the resolution said.

Repatriation of patriots

Mr. de Mello further stated that Pandit Nehru's declaration on the future of Goa and Delhi's note to Lisbon on the subject would have been greeted with greater gratitude if a demand had been made for the repatriation of Goan patriots who had been kept as "hostages in the overseas penal settlements of Portugal". He appealed to Goans to unite in overthrowing the "Fascist" rule in Goa.

Mr. C. Furtado, President of the Bombay Committee of the National Congress, said Goans should be grateful to Pandit Nehru for his statement in Parliament that Goa should come back to India. Goans had full faith in the secular ideals of the Indian Republic, he added.

Mr. S. B. D'Silva, President of the National Congress (Goa), said that Goans refused to be flattered by the statements made from time to time by the Prime Minister of Portugal, describing them as " Europeans ".

Mr. Francis Mascarenhas appealed to Goans to sink their caste differences and with one voice demand the withdrawal of the Portuguese from Goa.

Mr. J. V. Kamat, Dr. M. U. Mascarenhas, Mr. S. D'Souza and Mrs. S. D'Silva spoke in support of the resolutions passed at the meeting.

National Congress (Goa)

Bombay, 20th March 1950

Sir,

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa), a public meeting attended by about 200 Goans was held at Cama Hall, Fort, at about 4-30 p.m. on March 19th. Mr. Anthony S. D'Mello presided.

The president, Messrs. Critovac Furtado, S. G. D'Silva, Janardhan Kamat, Dr. Mascarenhas, Francis Mascarenhas, L. J. D'Souza and others made speeches in support of the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted at the meeting :—

(1) This meeting of the Goans pledges unqualified support to the Prime Minister, the Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his recent declaration in the Parliament that Goa will undoubtedly join India.

(2) The people of Goa through this assembly of Goans in Bombay declare as they have declared before that they will not tolerate the presence of foreign power in their motherland any longer, that Goa is not a part of Portugal in any shape or form, that Goans are Indians and Portugal can never lay claim to their birthright, that despite all their false propaganda, the Portuguese are terrorising unarmed people into submission to their regime.

This meeting hereby declares that any resolutions or so-called protests said to have been made in Goa are false propaganda arranged by the Portuguese Government through their agents and henchmen. This meeting challenges the Portuguese Authorities in Goa to call a public meeting of Goans after suspending for a week the suppressive laws against freedom of press, speech and association and confident in the justice of the cause of the people of Goa, declares that not one Goan be found to support the Portuguese in Goa.

(3) This meeting of Goans assembled in Bombay hereby calls upon the National Congress (Goa) to prepare the people of Goa for resistance and struggle for freedom in such non violent forms as may be proper and pledges full support in all forms to any action that may be decided upon.

The president said that he was a sportsman and he did not wish to enter into politics. However, it was the duty of all the Goans to help the Indian Government to solve the problem of Goa. He further said that after the removal of Portuguese Rule from Goa, the territory should join the Indian Union as a separate province. He welcomed the declaration of the Hon'ble Prime Minister of India in the Parliament and said that all the Goans would stand by his side. He suggested that while the power of Goa being transferred from the hands of Portuguese to the Indians, a CareTaker Government should be appointed as was appointed in the case of India. Finally he appealed to all the Goans to come together on one common platform keeping aside their differences of opinion for the common cause.

The speech of Mr. Furtado is attached hereto.

The other speakers during the course of their speeches asked the audience not to be misguided by the false propaganda made by the Portuguese and their agents that the Goans were Portuguese, that they would be happy under Portuguese rule. They also condemned the meeting arranged by the Portuguese and their agents in Goa protesting against Mr. Nehru for the declaration.

Speech of Mr. Cristovac Furtado, President of Bombay Committee of National Congress Goa.

Friends and Brothers,

The Bombay Committee of National Congress (Goa) holds this meeting in order to give full support to the policy of the Government of India expressed through the voice of her Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru regarding the cessation of Goa to the Indian Union.

This solemn declaration of Mr. Nehru, is a full guarantee to the people of Goa which is eager to get rid of foreign domination prevailing there for the last 450 years of slavery through the use of sheer force over the three territories of Goa, Daman, Diu.

It is an accepted fact that India is determined with all the earnestness at her command to see that the last vestige of Foreign Imperialism effaced once and for all, from Indian soil thus bringing all India under shelter of the same flag.

The people of Goa, beyond any shadow of doubt, have expressed unequivocal desire to join the Indian Union. Therefore in view of the provision regarding human rights including the United Nations it is but natural, that the Goan People be given their inalienable birth right of life, liberty and happiness.

It is solely due to the acknowledgement of this principle that the World democratic press have refrained from commenting on the policy of Government of India, concerning Goa.

While the foreign watch dogs of democracy have observed silence over the matter, Mr. Salazar, Prime Minister of Portugal has done the most he could do by issuing orders to the Conselho do Governo, and municipal corporations, his opportunist stooges within Goa to protest against the policy of Government of India based on the argument that Goa has been a part of the Portuguese Empire for centuries. But unfortunately he forgets that of Brazil too could be claimed by the same argument to be Portuguese but it will be interesting to note that if Portugal had succeeded in such claim, Brazil would be such progressive a Nation as she is at present.

India too like Burma, Ceylon, Ireland, Australia and South Africa was integrated in the British Empire. Indonesia was integrated in Dutch Empire yet today she is an independent Nation. All of them have won independence peacefully with the exception of Indonesia, who gave adequate reaction taken by Dutch to dominate her. If by reason of possession, however, ancient Portugal how is it that the India which is today a nation cannot claim Goa which during thousands and thousands years or rather since century beginnings of the World has been her patrimony which by use of arms snatched away from her? and cannot stolen property be claimed back, however, many years may pass, once loss the loss is felt by the realm legitimate.

Can of reason, justice and common-sense admit of any truth in it ? Does the dignity of a man consists of being able to keep what is not his ? Does it not imply a serious encroachment on Human Rights ? In these circumstances it is just to say that Portugal distinguishes herself from all Nations owing to her virtues as the Government council of Goa they met to protest against the declaration of the Prime Minister ?

What are the constitutional and moral rights to Mr. Mendes, Eurasian by race and retired Government Officer to present a motion in the Government Council.

What right has this member of Government Council nominated by Government to affirm that this same Council voices that the wish of the people of Got civil liberties are unknown, and the Government Council and Municipal Corporation consists of stooges ? In this present the Government Council of spineless heeds the following curious resolution was passed as it has been declared in the Parliament that Goa will have to join India, the Government Council of this spontaneously voices its surprise and deep regret against the strange which implies a threat to the legitimate and sacred rights of the Nation established by the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic and hereby assures absolute loyalty to Portugal and their inalienable faith in the maintenance of the sovereignty over this territory of old and unvanquished Portugal. It is gathered that this resolution was approved by acclamation by of Locaios. Of the speakers who took part some are Government servants and other dependents of the Government because they were appointed by Government. The press in Goa was compelled to give full reports of the speeches of the members of the Government Council, for if they were to do otherwise it would mean to open to them the doors of the cells of Aguada Prison to keep company with Nationalists Goans, imprisoned there. Life in Goa is a terror in its fullest meaning. It is a life in suffocation. In Goa the citizens are persecuted even for being Nationalists minded. In Goa people obtain power as rascal Silva Pereira or Benedito D'Souza who are not ashamed to say in Government Council that Goa historically belongs to Portugal and that their heart always will be Portuguese, and that they want to live under the Portuguese flag and don't understand as to why India should wish to integrate Goa into India. Do you want to know who are these individuals, one is Dr. Silva Pereira, a beautiful Karachi donkey, a rich man from Colva who gets 500 rupees monthly as a provedor, a post which in any part of the world is done on honorary basis. The other is Dr. Benedito D'Souza from Bardez, a member of Government Council who succeeded in establishing a law which enables him to sublet the properties belonging the " Panchayats". He is a rich " Bourgeois ". The third is Mounsenhor P. Rebello, belonging to the eternal " Lacaics " of the Portuguese people, is hoping to become a bishop. Their main object is to suck the blood of the Goan people and it is only due to this that they wish Portugal to govern Goa. A retired High Court Judge, Mr. B. D'Costa, through his long articles published in "*Heraldo*", a local newspaper, has done a tremendous campaign against the integration of Goa with India and also against the rise of nationalism. He has launched false and hypocritical against India.

In this article he tries to pose as a representative of the people though he is hardly known. Speaking on Goans independence he says. " We neither desire nor will desire it" for reason that we are quite integrated in the Portuguese Nation. Nothing better could be from this member of the assimilated class. They are well integrated in the Portuguese Nation, for reason best known to the victims of their arbitrary policy. Who has given the right to this Quisling to speak on behalf of the Goan People. But happily everybody knows the moral conditions of Dr. B. D'Costa who wishes to remain a slave of the Portuguese because only under the Portuguese he can prosper. He is a retired judge. He left twice his motherland in order to settle in Portugal but failed in his attempts. So he came once and for all to Goa to practice as an advocate in order to exhibit his personal influence with the High Court Judges and others. These are the people who wished the continuation of Portuguese in Goa where exploitation begins at coem and stops in "Palacio de Cabo". Out of Rs. 11,717.

625 State revenue Rs. 11,080,448 is spent in administration and public offices, and only Rs. 2829394 are left with P. W. D.

	Rs.
The Portuguese Revenue	160,610,-9-0
The Governor General	151,210-4-6
The Metropolitan Defence	2,235,958-1-6
<hr/>	
Total	2,547,778-15-0

Besides this out of 11,280,448 rupees the military contingents, which we do not need, wastes Rs. 7,06,200 of which the greater part is spent on European officers. Out of the rest Rs. 10,220,448 nearly 2/3 of the total expenses is absorbed by Portuguese European employees travelling allowance, subsidies, pay and nearly 1/3rd is spent with local staff (Natives). This is the position of dominated people. When we achieve Independence there will be a cut in total expenses with European staff which will give an economy of 6 millions of rupees, and the same amount we definitely can invest in the development of Novas Conquistas, which is less than five years will form into a fertile and prosperous area, ancillary speaking Goa will rise rapidly and thousands of Goans (Emigrants) be able to come to their motherland and thus we will assure a prosperous future. Our people now wonder, ought unknown, inhospitable and distant lands in search of living because Portuguese did nothing for Goa during 440 years of reign, rather on the contrary they have robbed us of our wealth and treasure. It is on account of that Salazar has forced his subjects to protest against P. M.'s statements in the Indian Parliament. (India is a secular state).

We solemnly declare that we repudiate the pro-Portugal demonstration organised by "Fantoches" and Laicacs under strict order of Government of Salazar and we strongly protest against false declarations in the Government Council Goa, which represents that the people but only the Government. Each of us is representative of ten Goans because our family in Goa is composed of ten people. Goans are Indians, were Indians and will be Indians for all time by race, blood and heart.

Goa is not a patrimony of Portugal, it was never so and will never be. Goa is India and to India it will belong for all time. Let us get off the foreigners from our Holy place where the Portuguese committed all sorts of atrocities. Let us support the Government of India, and her Prime Minister in her policy towards the unity of India. Let us cherish the hope given to us by his declaring that Goa will join India. We should congratulate Pandit Nehru for the statement that he made in the Parliament of India. The declaration constituted our hope and our relief, let us shout out "Goa is India". The desire for liberty is inalienable in human beings. To us our Home is our castle however ruined it may be. But when it is in possession of another the owner always resents it because he is dependent upon others. It is this sentiment that leads the emigrants to buy the property of his *batcar* around is hut, once he is the owner he feels happy and free. In the same way we should be free from foreign sway, because in its broadest meaning a nation is like a house of which we are all inhabitants.

It is a collective property and home, and this home should be owned by the tiller of the soil and not by others who have infiltrated brought sheer use of force and thus our strength will be all the stronger, then a home is governed by the tiller of the soil the welfare of all of them must be the

chief objective of the rulers, and when the ruled feel is satisfied with ruler they have the power to drive them out and substitute them by others. But when sovereignty of the people resides in the hands of foreigners it passes to be *battcars* who are the real custodians of the arbitrary laws and thus the people become slaves. It is against this slavery that we must proceed to fight to assert the dignity of the people, and for this purpose alone we are all gathered here in a mass meeting which is going to be presided by Mr. A. De Mello, the President of the Cricket Club of India. He is a prominent member of our community. He needs no introduction. His name is sufficiently recognised because he is internationally known in sports field. He is prepared to offer his all to the cause of our liberation because since he is a son of Goa he feels ashamed to be slave at this critical time when the liberty and dignity of man is involved. He enlists himself as a soldier in our fight in the ranks of the Congress and wishes to march forward on our way. He is a patriot and all his spirit vibrates with indignation against arbitrary rule of the Government of Salazar.

Let us shout this slogan "We are Indians and we will be Indians for ever".

The Bombay Chronicle, dated 14th April 1950

GOA AND GOANS

Recent developments have brought the question of Goa's political future to the forefront. There are welcome indications that the Government of India have at last made up their mind to liquidate this foreign pocket as soon as possible and have sounded the Lisbon Government about the necessity of an early settlement.

The case has thus been elevated from the academic to the practical plane and the Prime Minister's recent remarks in the Parliament ought to convince the Portuguese that the time for a final decision has come. The present impasse has to be ended either through negotiations, or a plebiscite br. if necessary, " police action ".

DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY

However, in view of the most illogical and shortsighted attitude of the Portuguese authorities in considering Goa an integral part of metropolitan Portugal and as such no concern of India and their reported reliance on the Atlantic Pact to defend their sovereignty over the territory, it is extremely doubtful whether negotiations will be useful or even possible. Nor can the Portuguese be expected to organise a fair and impartial plebiscite, which in the face of a total denial of even the most elementary civil liberties to the people can be only a farce as elections in Goa have always been. The liberation of Goa through police action, though it will be a matter of a few hours, the Atlantic Pact and Portuguese fortifications notwithstanding, is a step that can be resorted to only in case of extreme necessity. Be as it may, one thing is certain that this foreign pimple will not for long disfigure the face of Mother India.

GOANS DIVIDED

The problem, however, would have been much easier to handle had Goans at this crucial hour been able to offer an united front. Unfortunately while current developments are setting the pace of future events, Goans appear to be growing increasingly undecided about their future and the forces of dis-ruption are churning up their ranks ever more. It is true that Goan public

opinion as such, has yet to express itself through concrete channels but such of it as is being revealed, outside Goa of course, betrays a good deal of confused thinking and muddle headedness among Goans.

There are the nationalists, who are practically important because they are more keen on looking after the interest of their separate organisations than in attending to more wider and vital issues before the people. The floating section, whose attitude is determined in terms of loaves and fishes may be trusted to make common cause with the victorious side and drift with the stream. But the controversy that has followed the Prime Minister's statement in the Parliament which since then has come to be known as ' Nehru Policy ' has disclosed that there is considerable number of Goans, misguided either by choice or accident, who are contented slaves and eager to preserve the bonds of slavery.

PROPAGANDA

Differences of opinion over the merger issue or the ways and means to be employed to secure Goa's independence are understandable but that in this twentieth century there should be individuals who prefer slavery to freedom, is a disgrace to Goa and Goans. It indicates the extent to which Portuguese rule has denationalised at least a section of Goans.

The insidious anti-Indian propaganda which is being indulged in by these henchmen of the Portuguese in order to divert the attention of the people away from basic issues, must therefore be contradicted.

We are being told, that the people of Goa are whole heartedly for the continuation of Portuguese Rule as demonstrated by the public meetings reported to have been held in Goa recently. Those who are familiar with Portuguese ways need have no illusions about these meetings. It would be interesting to know why if the people are behind them, the Portuguese are mortally scared of men like Tristao Braganza Cunha and other patriots, or why they fight so shy of nationalist papers and find it necessary to ban their entry into Goa.

PEOPLE'S PLIGHT

We are told that conditions in Goa in respect of the daily necessities of life are much better than here in India, and that the people of Goa have no desire to come out of the frying pan into the fire. The answer of course is obvious. The very fact that more than 90 per cent of the people of Goa have to migrate to the neighbouring territories in quest of daily bread and that the so-called good things of life are available only in exchange for the money orders and insured letters that flow into Goa from India every month, should have convinced Goans where exactly they stand.

CULTURAL TIES

Four hundred years of misrule cannot destroy the centuries old ties, political, economic, cultural and otherwise, that bind Goa to India, which were temporarily paralysed by an accident of history through which Portu- gal conquered Goa. Those who talk of Goa's cultural contacts with* Portugal obviously mistake the degenerating influences of colonialism for culture and fail to realise that even the thickest iron curtain cannot segregate Goa from Greater India, because the union that exists between the two is not only physical but also of the spirit which no material force can destroy and must ultimately triumph.

FREEDOM TO WORSHIP

And now we come to the familiar bogey of religion being in danger which is being sedulously raised with the full and active support of the authorities. From what is being said one may well be lead to believe that Catholicism exists only where the Portuguese have carried it and that Portuguese rule is essential for its safety and continued existence. Little do our friends realies that Catholic religion had already taken deep roots in the Indian soil before the arrival of the Portuguese. They also need to be reminded that the Indian Constitution has accommodated the Catholic view point most generously and the most cordial relations that exist between the State and the Church in India are testified by the exchange of diplomatic representative between the Vatican and India. Many dignitaries of the Church in India and abroad also have given testimony that Catholics in India have nothing to fear, and how is it then, may we ask, Catholicism will be in danger if Goa merges into India.

True Catholics cannot ask for anything more than the freedom to progress, practice and propagate their faith which we in India enjoy in ample measure. In contrast to this the Portuguese rulers have prostituted religion to serve their own political ends and no self-respecting Catholic can reconcile himself to such a state of affairs.

BEST OF BOTH WORLDS

To cap it all, these very same people who are eager to retain Portuguese rule in Goa, are not prepared to give up the privileges they enjoy in India and regard themselves as foreigners. They wish to have the best of both the worlds. If it comes to the worst some of them tell us that to them Goa is just a holiday resort and they would like to preserve it as it is and as it has been. But then holidaying cannot claim preference over the security of India and there is no denying the fact that Goa has already become a nest of anti-Indian spies and will be a major threat to India's security in times of conflict.

In any case if we do not want freedom let us say so and prove ourselves what we exactly are. But let us not commit the unpardonable sacrilege of weighing freedom in terms of liquors and sugar as is being done today.

Secret.
No. 7/06/For/50.

Office of the Dy. Inspr. Genl. of Police,
C.I.D., Bombay State, Gamadia House,
Warden Road, Bombay No. 26,
14th April 1950.

My dear Shri Pandya,

I shall be grateful for your comments on the attached copy of an article headed " They must be expelled, these Fifth Columnists and foreign agents " by B. R. Rane published in the issue dated 26th January 1950 of the " *New Republic* ", an English weekly of Bombay.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.)

Shri C. S. Pandya,
Dy. Commissioner of Police,
Special Branch, Bombay.

They Must be expelled these fifth columnists and Foreign Agents by B. R. Rane

One of the unconsidered dangers to India lies in the attitude of Goa's Government to India, and the activities it is indulging into forestall and prevent a Union between that bit of Goan empire with the mother country. Our contributor reveals how grave the danger is and suggests the steps the GOI must immediately take to neutralise it.

Intrigues

The people of the Konkan coast who maintain close relation with the people of Goa are viewing with concern the intrigues and agitation carried on by the feudal and reactionary groups of *Bhatkars* (Landlords), merchants, Roman Catholic Church priests and other parasites of the Portuguese.

A so-called all party group has been formed in Bombay and a conference is going to be held shortly to formulate the demands of Goa. Anyone who knows the background of the men who have formed the Committee cannot possibly accept this Committee as representative of the Goan people. The entire move is inspired by the calculation that New Delhi would back up any group of persons who could claim to represent the people of Goa and their wishes. Men who have so far been connected with rival and mushroom political organisations are coming together in order to secure the support of the Government of India and later share the spoils between themselves.

Government taken in ?

The External Affairs Ministry of the Indian Government would not appear to have a clear understanding of the problem of the Portuguese settlement. Nor do they possess any well-defined and clear cut policy. One can appreciate their difficulties. But they should not allow themselves to be exploited by political adventurers and opportunists who have turned themselves into Goan politicians and spokesmen of the Goan people overnight. New Delhi must realise that Goa has lived under the heels of the foreign invaders for over 4 centuries and that the masses of Goa are politically backward and inarticulate. In other words, they pretend to represent them with the exception of a few individuals who have worked for years to promote the interests of the Goan people but who have kept themselves aloof from the recently formed Bombay Committee.

It is necessary that the people in Bombay and the Indian Union should have a clear idea of the actual situation that exists in Goa. We must recognise that even Goans in the Indian Union are controlled by the Portuguese agents who are freely permitted to operate in Bombay while freedom in the Portuguese territory ; in Bombay a large number of Goan institutions and newspapers, many of them written in Konkani language and Roman script, are run by or under the guidance of the foreign agents. The Portuguese Government is distributing lakhs of rupees among its emigrants in Bombay and other parts of the Union. The Indian Government must first clear its territory of these foreign agents.

Religion Leads Reaction

Religion is used as a camouflage in these political activities. But the men of religion are actually working for a foreign Government and trying to promote its interests. New Delhi does not apparently appreciate the fact that the regime in Portugal is not a secular one. It is a clerical Fascist regime and the Roman Catholic Church shares the political power of Salazar's Portugal. That explains the reason why religion cannot be separated from politics so far as Goa is concerned. Even in the constitution of Goa the Hindus are a majority community. But the official religion of Goa is Roman Catholic Christianity and the head of the Church, the Patriarch of Goa, is a State dignitary who receives pay for himself and his establishment. He is a counter part of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Bombay and both of them are controlled by the Roman Catholic Church as represented by the Pope of Rome. The Goa Patriarch is more powerful than the so called Governor General of the Portuguese Empire in India and is subject to the authority or ruling of the Colonial Minister in Lisbon.

This position explains why the men of religion have been turned into agents of the political administration which is run by both the State and its colonies. There is a large population of Roman Catholics in Bombay city and it is controlled by their padres who carry on political propaganda on behalf of the Portuguese among their flock. A recent and striking instance of the propaganda is furnished by an article in the official Church paper run by the Jesuits, *Udenteehem Ejetr*. It is all about S. Francis Xavier, the Lord (Saib) of Goa. The article recalls how the great enemy Sambhaji, with his troops overran Goa and the saint saved Goa for the Portuguese. There is a legend that so long as the saint remains on Portuguese soil no foreign power can infiltrate and the superstition is being stored up and the Goans told that they must get their Saib to remain in Goa to prevent the Pagans of New Delhi from overrunning the territory.

Subsidising Espionage

The Maratha King Sambhaji cannot be described as an enemy of the Goan people who have been living under the rule of the Portuguese invaders. In fact the Ranes of Sattari who have revolted against the Portuguese from time to time are Kshatriya Marathas and a section of the Marathas of Savantwadi. The bulk of the population is also drawn from the Maharashtrian population and are indistinguishable, ethnically and culturally from the rest of the population of the Konkan region with whom indeed they maintain very close relations. In Bombay City, there are, thousands of Goan Hindu workers submerged in the City's proletariat. I have discovered that not one of these men gets the relief for emigrants distributed by the Portuguese Government in Bombay city.

As a matter of fact, the money distributed is drawn from a political fund established by the Goa Government in Bombay City. The money is distributed among both Hindus and Christians and relatives of these men who support and carry on Portuguese political propaganda. Some paid agents also work among the Goans in the city and the Church, of course, bears the brunt of this task of controlling Goans for the Portuguese. It is these agents who are supporting the demand that Goa should be given a constituent assembly and local autonomy so that the landlords can retain their feudal rule and the merchants could continue their black-marketing and Smuggling operations while the people of Goa continue to live in poverty and misery.

New Patriots and Politicians

All the politicians who are trying to interview the Ministers of New Delhi represent the vested interest of various classes of the parasitism in Goa. The Hindus and Christians are hand in glove where their common class and economic interests are concerned and these men have been operating as politicians. They realise that the Portuguese must sooner or later quit and they are trying to placate the Congressmen of New Delhi and deserting the Portuguese. They want New Delhi to accept them as spokesmen and representatives of the people of Goa and New Delhi appears to be in a mood to accept them as such.

It is possible the Government of India cannot do much in the way of direct action in Goa to end the nightmare that exists there. But surely it can clear its own territory of the stooges and hired and voluntary agents operating in our important positions in the political life and administration and the B. P. C. C. has adopted them as good Congressmen. They wear *Khadi* and masquerade as Indian patriots, but they have close links with several organisations that are working for the Portuguese Government. There are many men well entrenched in Government offices, newspaper offices and other places who are actually accusing the Portuguese. But many of them are agents of the Jesuits who belong to the ecclesiastical system which shares political power in Portugal and Portuguese Settlements in India. These men are dangerous and are carrying on espionage for their masters.

Agents for Pakistan too

There is a well-founded suspicion that some Goans in the Indian Union are carrying on espionage work on behalf of the Government of Pakistan. The Goa radio runs a full-fledged Islamic department and caters to Pakistan as well as India. The Bombay Catholic papers are frequently publishing full reports on the grand reception given to their bishops and padres who visit Pakistan. The Pakistan Government has been carefully cultivating the Goans and while they hunt and drive out Hindu non-Muslims they give every encouragement to Goan Catholics to replace them and prosper. Naturally, the Goans in Pakistan who are emigrants from Goa are expressing their gratitude in Pakistan and it is natural that they should be willing to pay the debt they owe to Pakistan by working in Pakistan's interest. This position spells danger to our security but neither the Central nor the Provincial Government do anything to safeguard the security by driving away foreign agents who openly operate in our midst. There is the Foreigners Act which the Bombay Police used to enforce on behalf of the British. Why is it not used by the Bombay Police to throw out the spies and political agents of a none-too friendly foreign Government.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 17th April 1950

Goa Politicals Relief Body

First Meeting Held

Bombay, Sunday—The nine-men Goan Political Prisoners Relief Committee, held its first meeting here this morning at the Governor's Pavilion of the Cricket Club of India.

Mr. Anthony S. De Mello, President of the Board of Control for Cricket in India, was in the chair.

The following were elected to offices on the committee:—President: Mr. A. S. De Mello, Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. Waman Desai.

The Committee resolved to collect funds for the relief of political prisoners in Goa, and Peniche in Portugal, by inaugurating cultural programmes in the city.

The Committee discussed the question of starting Konkani newspapers in Bombay. The enlistment of Goan support here for the realisation of Goan's political aspirations was also discussed.

S.B.C.I.D.
29th April 1950.

National Congress (Goa)

A meeting of the members of the National Congress (Goa) was held in the I. L. I. Hall, Burrows Lane, Thakurdwar, Bombay, on 28th April 1950 to elect delegates for the forthcoming Conference at Londa.

The meeting was open to members only and not to the general public. No business was transacted but the following delegates were elected to the forthcoming Conference.

Shri F. Furtado presided at the meeting which started at 6-30 p.m. and terminated at 7-30 p.m.

1. S. B. D'Silva.
2. V. B. Borkar.
3. B. B. Borkar.
4. E. Pimenta.
5. Dr. Telo Mascarenhas.
6. Francis Mascarenhas.
7. P. N. Mashelkar.
8. K. S. Lad.
9. Shamrao Lad.
10. A. S. De Mello.
11. Sanches D'Souza.
12. Lambert Mascarenhas.
13. Yeshwant Wagle.
14. Mario Rodrigues.
15. Laxmidas Borkar.
16. C. Furtado.
17. Galdious Coutinho
18. K. Rajyadhyaksha.
19. Martin D'Costa.
20. Clementina Gracias.
21. Laxman Sardesai.
22. T. S. Noronha.
23. F. Silveria.
24. J. M. D'Souza.
25. V. V. Surlakar.
26. Mrs. Mulgadkar.
27. J. V. Kamat.
28. J. L. Arunjo.
29. Waman Desai.
30. B. D. Satoskar.

(Sd.)

S.I. of Police, SS.Br.,
S.B. (1), C.I.D.

Supdt. S.B1.

Sir,'

This evening at about 6-15 p.m. the National Congress (Goa) will hold a meeting in the hall of the Instituto Luso Indian, Burrows Lane. The proceedings of the meeting are likely to be in Konkani Language. I, therefore, request that S. I. D'Souza may kindly be directed to attend the meeting and report the proceedings.

Extracts from a report, dated 6th May 1950 received in this office regarding Goa affairs.

The National Congress (Goa) has decided to hold its second Session at Londa (Belgaum District) on 26th and 27th May 1950, and delegates from Bombay, Belgaum and Goa have been already elected to attend the Session.

The Bombay Group of the National Congress (Goa) is going to propose the names of three persons, *viz.*, Mr. S. B. D'Silva (present President of the Congress), Mr. A. S. D'Mello (President of the Board of Control of Cricket in India), Dr. Telo Mascarenhas (Ex-Mayor of Bombay) for the presidentship of the Congress while the Goa Committee has proposed Mr. Carvalho of Cuolim (Goa). Since the relations between the Bombay Group and the Belgaum group are not cordial, it is apprehended that a heated discussion over the election of the President will take place during the Session. It is reported that the Belgaum group proposes to shift the office of the National Congress from Bombay to Belgaum and to launch some sort of non-violent movement with a view to create political consciousness in the Goan masses. The time of action to be launched, it is learnt, will be decided at the Session.

Mr. S. B. D'Silva has written to Dr. Jambavalikar of Belgaum that he has received an intimation from Delhi to come over to Delhi for discussions with two of his colleagues instead of sending a formal delegation. In view of this intimation, Mr. D'Silva further informs that he would be busy with certain preparations for the talks and for starting a Fund Collection Drive from Delhi for which certain official assistance has been promised to him, and as such, it would engage all his time and attention till the end of May. These engagements, he thinks, will clash with the ensuing Session at Londa. Apparently, he suggests that the Conference should be postponed on account of certain developments taking place at New Delhi. Dr. Jambaulikar and his co-workers from Belgaum have, however, telegraphically informed Mr. D'Silva that it was not possible to postpone the Session. They have decided to hold the Conference with or without the co-operation of the Bombay group of workers. On this account, a rift appears to have occurred between the Goa workers of Belgaum and those of Bombay and it is doubtful as to how far the Conference at Londa would be a success. The financial position of the National Congress (Goa) is far from satisfactory and the efforts of the Goa workers of Belgaum for collecting funds do not appear to have met with any appreciable response from the public.

The Goan nationalists of Belgaum and Bombay suspect that the Goa Government would be deputing some of their C.I.D. officers to attend the Londa Conference for reporting the details of the Conference and to keep a watch on the activities of the workers.

National Standard, dated 11th May 1950.

Mr. Waman Desai, general secretary of the Goa National Congress has resigned his post as the General Secretary of the Congress, it was announced.

The Times of India, dated 27th May 1950.

LIBERATION OF GOA.

"Satyagraha" Urged

(From Our Own Correspondent), Belgaum, May 26 : "The liberation of Goa from foreign domination is our cherished goal and though top-ranking leaders of India despite their promises in the beginning to help us in our objective are shelving the question for fear of raising international issues, it is essential to create such a situation within and without Goa as to compel the Indian Government to intervene and put an end to the menace of Portuguese fascism once for all", stated the President addressing the second session of the National Congress of Goa which commenced today at Londa, Belgaum District.

Volunteers, he stated, should be drawn from neighbouring districts to launch *satyagraha* and to enact another Hyderabad.

To start funds for the movement and undertake constructive work of starting Hindi and Marathi classes for adults in Goa and Bombay were some of the plans outlined at the conference.

It was stated that there was room for compromise on the demand for unqualified and unconditional integration of Goa into India which was proper and natural. There was no question of political autonomy being conferred on Goa by the Portuguese Government which was detrimental to the interests of Goans.

Free Press Journal, dated 31st May 1950.

GOA NATIONAL CONGRESS MYSTERY DEEPENS

Hunt For Political Suspects And Its Sequel

The session of Goa National Congress at Londa seems to have proved a mysterious affair. The mystery of it was largely forced on the organisers by the outrageous Portuguese Government which seems to have been unnerved by the growing understanding between India and Pakistan and which in consequence has become more brutal in its hunting after the political suspects.

The mystery consists in non-revelation of the names of the President and Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Conference, although their addresses were read out. Only the name of the General Secretary was announced. That is Mr. Viswanath Lawande, who has been sentenced to 28 years' hard labour on a charge of being involved in a political robbery and who was lucky enough to have effected a smart escape into Indian territory.

Mystery Deepened

The mystery is deepened by the non-availability" of what exactly transpired at the Conference which, it is said, was attended by about 60 people. Three routine resolutions which were passed Were published, but not

one of them concerns even faintly any programme of action which should be the main concern of people with such revolutionary urges. If the programme has been discussed and chalked out, even the people vitally interested in the affairs of Goa do not seem to be aware of it.

It is said that the theory and technique of *Satyagraha* in its bearing on the Goan situation was discussed at the conference, but what exactly was the final judgement of the conference on it is not known. Many people would be extremely pleased if somebody throws some light on (his important happening at Londa.

Literary Conference.

On the background of the Londa Conference, the Goan Marathi Literary Conference scheduled to be held at Belgaum this week-end acquires an arresting importance. Everybody recognises that, in the context of the Portuguese hostility of the most vicious kind towards Marathi language and literature in Goa, this literary conference cannot remain indifferent to the political situation there, and Goa's place in the United Maharashtra is likely to come up and create some sort of explosive atmosphere. But there is a deeper current of opinion which recognises that within Goa itself, politics has receded into the background and cultural urges are again moving men's minds. There is also a recognition of the fact that the cultural regeneration of Goa is a problem of profound significance and importance, and that, in any case, a literary conference must keep itself on the literary and cultural track and should not directly enter a political ring.

Mr. Prabhakar Padhye, the president of the Conference, I understand, has devoted his presidential address entirely to the consideration of the cultural regeneration of Goa.

New Finance Minister

The appointment of Shri Chintamanrao Deshmukh as the Finance Minister of the Government of India has been welcomed all over India, but in Maharashtra the enthusiastic acclamation (expressed by one and all) contains elements which should be noted and pondered over by non-Maharashtrians. There is a widespread feeling in Maharashtra that the present leadership of India cherishes no feelings of sympathy for and understanding of Maharashtra ; if at all there is a feeling of coldness, if not positive hostility. When people with such feelings deep down in them are forced to take into the Central Cabinet Maharashtra who are not their followers but who differ from them and stand with an upright spine on sheer merit, people in Maharashtra look upon it with a significant chuckle and a meaningful glance!

But, How long?

Everybody knows that Mr. Chintamanrao Deshmukh is not merely a master of economic affairs, but is an independent minded man, who has dared not only to differ from the Government but also to express his difference in a forceful manner. One, wonders, how long the Congress party which thinks less with its head and more with the white cap on it would be able to accommodate Mr. Deshmukh in the Central Cabinet.

Deshmukh's association with Maharashtra is of a peculiar nature. He was married to an English woman and thus did not weave family relations into the fabric of Maharashtrian life, but he is something of a romantic

figure in the realm of Marathi literature. Not that he is a recognized writer in Marathi. He is not although he is reputed to have published (for private circulation) a charming translation (in verse forms) of Kalidas's *Meghdoot*, that dainty lyric which is a divine pearl from the ocean of Sanskrit literature. He must, doubtless, have made other attempts at literary composition, but people outside the closed circle of his friends do not know about them. And yet he remains a romantic figure for Marathi literature, because Ram Ganesh Gadkari, that demi-god of style, has 'immortalised Mr. Deshmukh in a poem which he composed on the unique success which Deshmukh had achieved in the Matriculation examination.

Ambedkar's surprise

The report that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar has embraced Buddhism caused a veritable stir in Maharashtra, because although Buddhism today enjoys a favourable spell because of Nehru (*vide* Ashok Chakra), in Maharashtra there is a firm section of opinion which is not prepared to forget that Buddhism was responsible for emasculating militant Hinduism and for its eventual degradation. This is the age-old contradiction between the outer glory and the inner development of religion which every religion has manifested sometime or other in its career.

Although, Dr. Ambedkar is reported to have denied that he has actually embraced Buddhism, his enthusiasm for the same is just now markedly kindled. He has asked all Indians to embrace Buddhism, which he thinks is the sovereign solution for the manifold social ills of India. Many people are sceptical since they wonder if religion possesses a miraculous quality of transformation which it is supposed to have possessed once. Dr. Ambedkar's followers are certainly not among these sceptics. The secretary of his organisation, Mr. Rajbhoj, has dutifully echoed the call given by his master but which the master has not yet actually followed ! One fact, however, cannot be gainsaid. This time it is only a stir, and not a storm which the doctor once provoked by advocating a change of religion. The reasons are many. People are now more sure of the untouchables, for their problems are to a large extent solved. The untouchables also are now sure of themselves. But the basic cause is that in 1934-35, when the doctor threatened change of religion, the communal problem in India was already in the cauldron. Moreover people were afraid that he might embrace Islam, which fear revealed their ignorance about the doctor, because he is an old admirer of the Buddha. His house at Dadar is called *Rajagrigha*; and the entrance to its main hall is graced with a beautiful statue of Lord Buddha.

Kerkar's Romance

There is an interesting development in Poona which has stirred the romantic minds of the young and shaken the fossilised brains of the old. It is the romance of Mr. G. V. Ketkar, the fifty-year old, asthmatic editor of the celebrated '*Kesari*' with Mrs. Alva Redmond, a white woman of Boer origin. She is a widow with two children, while Mr. Ketkar is a widower with four children. Mrs. Redmond is a lover of Hinduism and in her enthusiastic quest for the knowledge of the ancient religion she came to know Mr. Ketkar and the serious and sensitive talks she had had with him not only initiated her into the 'cavehidden secrets' of the Hindu religion but also into his throbingly responsive heart! She decided to turn a Hindu and he decided to take her as his wife.

But the hoary angels of 'Kesari', with the universality of Hinduism on their babbling tongue were shocked out of their wits by these developments and, it is reported, warned him that he would have to leave the institution. While the situation has developed into this impasse the Government of Bombay arrested the hero of this romance and detained him in the Yerawda jail.

None of these calamities seems to have daunted either Mr. Ketkar or Mrs. Redmond. She duly got herself converted to Hinduism and with her new name Amala is going to be married in the first week of June, to Mr. Ketkar who has already despatched his resignation to the rueful guardians of Tilak's 'Kesari'.

The Free Press Journal, dated 3rd June 1950

Goa Congress Resolves to Fight Portuguese

Waman Desai's Revelation.

"The stage of negotiations with the Portuguese Government is over and the time for action has come" says Mr. Waman Desai, former General Secretary of the Goa National Congress, in a statement issued here today.

Mr. Desai said : "The recent secret session of National Congress (Goa) at Londa has resolved to be prepared for struggle in Goa. The Portuguese Government is now trying to give an autonomy which is a trick to divide and rule.

Goans should not be fooled at this trick. The Portuguese are also suppressing 'nationalist-minded people and thus pursuing them to accept their bogus autonomy. At this critical juncture I request my Goan brothers to be united leaving aside all the minor issues such as Samyukta Maharashtra and be prepared for the action that may be taken against the Portuguese regime.

Course of action.

"The Goa National Congress," Mr. Desai said, "also decided to call an extraordinary session in Bombay during the last week of September to decide upon the course of action which will be placed before the Goan people for approval.

"The Portuguese Government are not ready even to give the minor rights to the Goans and in this light I think that the negotiations stage is over.

"I also appeal to the Government of India to take firm stand against the Portuguese. Goans have already declared that Goa is a part of India and not of Portugal and thus it is the duty of the people of India to help Goans in the forthcoming struggle against Portuguese regime".

The Bombay Secret Abstract, dated 3rd June 1950

The second Session of the Goa National Congress was held at Londa (Belgaum), on May 26 and 27, Dr. J. Carvelm of Goa presiding. Resolutions were adopted (1) condemning the Portuguese Government for deporting Shri Kakodkar, (2) congratulating the citizens of Chandernagore for their re-union with India, (3) condemning the ban on Indian newspapers in Goa, (4) denouncing the Portuguese authorities for trying to misrepresent to the world that their Government had the support of the Goan people,

(5) reiterating that Goa was an integral part of India and opposing all attempts of the Portuguese authorities to change its constitution and make it a province of Portugal and (6) demanding unconditional withdrawal of the Portuguese from Goa. The president in his speech said that India Government should not entertain any apprehensions of international issues and should adopt a firm policy towards Goa. He also ventured to say that the only solution to the problem would be to create a serious situation within and without Goa so as to compel Indian Government to intervene in the matter. He emphasised the necessity of a political incorporation of Goa in India as the Indian Government could alone improve the lot of Goans. He suggested adopting some constructive programme such as starting Marathi and Hindi classes, etc.

COMMENTS

The article under reference viz., "*They Must be Expelled. These Fifth Columnists and Foreign Agents*" was published in the first issue of the *New Republic*, a weekly newspaper of Bombay, dated the 26th January 1950, edited, printed and published by one Shri Waman P. Kabadi, at the Digest Printing Press, Prospect Chambers Annex. 315-321, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.

The author of the article is one Shri Bachaji Ramchandra Rane, an advocate and ex-M.L.A. from the Ratnagiri (South) General Constituency, residing at Ram Gumpha, Nakhamsi Napoo Road, Bombay. He is a Hindu Maratha, aged about 40 years, hailing from village Naringra, Taluka Devgad in District Ratnagiri. As a Congressite and social worker, Shri Rane contributes articles to various local papers in Bombay.

In the present article the author has suggested a thorough cleansing up of the Goan Quisling and fifth-column elements who are operating in the Indian political life, administration, the B.P.C.C. and the so-called Goan liberation movement. According to him these persons who are masquerading themselves as patriots are nothing but political adventurers and first class opportunists and even paid agents of the Portuguese Government who are out to exploit the External Affairs Ministry of the Government of India to their best advantage and selfish interests.

Goa popularly known as "Gomantaka" is petty Portuguese settlement in India. It is merely a district having a population of over five lakhs of which the Hindus constitute 52 per cent. and the Muslims number well nigh 12,000', while the rest are Indian Christians—Roman Catholics. Under the aegis of the British regime, the Portuguese were able without equanimity to mismanage and misrule and denationalise the Goan population. There are two classes of the people in Goa, the *bhatkars* (the landlords) and the *mundkars* (the agriculturists), who are in constant conflict with each other. Amongst the *bhatkars* there are Hindus as well as Christians; and this particular class has always been encouraged by the Portuguese for perpetuating their vested interests. People serving in Government and Public Institutions are exclusively drawn from this class of People. The Portuguese offer them facilities including the use of force to keep the people (the *mundkars*) under them in complete servitude. Further the Goans are a deeply religious people. Their life centres round the village, the Church and the chapel and politics in Goa are inseparable from religion. The Salazarist dictatorship does not draw any distinction between religion and politics and has achieved a unity of the two on which it prides itself. A typical example of the Goans' religious mindedness is furnished by the

much publicized statue of " Our lady of Fatima ". Both the Hindus and Christians of Goa and Bombay participated in the procession. Pictures of the crowds were featured in newspapers but the non-Catholic Goans and persons were soon scandalised when the Goan Portuguese Agents cited the Fatima procession as the striking proof of the fact that even the non-Catholic Goans welcomed the Portuguese rule and that the Portuguese represented the Christian civilization and from this was drawn the unwanted conclusion that despite what the Indian leaders claim, the Goans wanted the Portuguese to remain in India.

It is a well known fact that every able-bodied Goan, both Hindu and Roman Catholic is forced to migrate to India, out of economic necessity. The Goan poverty is simply appalling and makes a tragic contrast to the beauty of the landscape, a certain amount of national opulence and unutilised wealth and untapped resources. About one-third of the total population of Goa earns their living in the State of Bombay, and about one-fifth of this population is earning their bread in Greater Bombay alone, It is these emigrants who have so far made and maintained Goa and not the parasitical feudal landlords of Goa. Goa is economically deficient since the value of its imports is several times superior to the value of its exports. According to 1937 figures, the value of imports was Rs. 1,41,87,415 as against that of exports only Rs. 28,83,063, the deficit in the trade being registered at Rs. 1,13,03,650. This huge deficit of 113 lakhs of rupees per year is mostly balanced by the savings sent or brought to Goa by emigrants since there is no other external income. But for its emigrants who make up for its outrageous balance in trade, the country would have gone bankrupt and died of starvation long ago. It would be clear from this why the Portuguese Government valued emigration and why it had instituted the mock fund known as the GOAN EMIGRATION FUND of Rs. 70,000 to make the Goans believe that the Government had their interest at heart. If the Goans had not sent the money they send annually to Goa, the Portuguese would have long since quitted Goa as a hopelessly losing proposition.

The Catholic Church has a hold over the country and the Christian community in particular and this has made them give their allegiance to the Portuguese. Their economic misery has made their political life stagnant and static and apathetic to the freedom movement. There is no strong movement of political resistance in Goa. The ' satyagraha' movement for civil liberties sponsored by the Socialists flared up for the time being under superficial stimuli and has died out inevitably. But there is no reason to assume that Goan people lack in patriotism. The Goans are our people—racially, culturally and in every respect. They have right to live peacefully and it is for them to vindicate India's stand. The Patriarch however wants them or rather the Roman Catholics amongst them to fight for the Portuguese. They are welcome to do it if they choose. But if they choose it, they cannot live, work and share common Indian prosperity and progress. They must know that if the public opinion is roused in the surrounding parts of Goa as to withhold supplies, a large part of Goa will have to be depopulated because of Goa's utter dependence on the rest of India not only for its clothes the Goans wear but for the large part of the food they eat.

As regards the anti-Indian Union propaganda, this department is alive to the seriousness of the problem and is aware of such propaganda being

carried on by the Anglo Portuguese Press such as "O Anglo Lusitano", "Ave Maria", "Chabuk", "Goa Mail" and the like in Bombay. It is not unlikely that these papers are being paid by the Portuguese Government for carrying on such propaganda. This fact has already been brought to the notice of the Government.

In this connection I may mention here that the former Goan Emigration Fund which was specifically started for encouraging emigration to India has now been converted into an institution known as the " Institute Indo Portuguese " and has been suspected of financing anti-Indian propaganda in Bombay. One Shri V. S. DePomeli Viegas, the Secretary of this Institute assisted by Messrs. Martin Pinto and Ignatious Fonseca is the moving figure behind this insidious propaganda in some of the Goan Clubs in Bombay. Mr. Viegas is the Secretary of the Goan Association and Mr. Fonseca is its President. Besides, Mr. Fonseca is the editor of the " O Anglo-Lusitano " and a retired Superintendent of the Dead Letter Office of the Bombay G. P. O. Mr. Pinto is a contributor to the " Goa Mail" under a pen-name. Both Mr. Viegas and Mr. Pinto were arrested and released after about 10 days. The question about their deportation is under consideration.

There is a large number of Goans in Government service and many of them have got themselves naturalised. Many Congressmen are also included in this category. They have always claimed the rights and privileges of British subjects and now Indian subjects. At present domicile is the criterian of Indian citizenship so far as the Goans are concerned. Further, Article 5 of the Constitution of India lays down that (a) every person who was born in the territory of India ; or (b) either of whose parents was born in the territory of India ; or (c) who has been ordinarily resident in the territory of India for not less than five years immediately preceding such commencement, shall be a citizen of India. It is therefore rather difficult to classify the Goans as foreigners, though some of these newly created citizens are holding landed and other property in Goa and actively supporting and carrying on the propaganda of a foreign government against the Indian Union.

Sunday Standard, dated 4th June 1950

Bombay Chronicle

TIME FOR ACTION HAS COME

MR. DESAI'S CALL TO GOANS

"The stage of negotiations with the Portuguese Government is over and the time for action has come ", says Mr. Waman Desai, former General Secretary of the Goa National Congress, in a statement issued here today. Mr. Desai said. " The recent secret session of National Congress (Goa) at Londa has resolved to be prepared for struggle in Goa. The Portuguese Government is now trying to give an autonomy which is a trick to divide and rule. Goans should not be fooled at this trick.

The Portuguese are also suppressing nationalist minded people and thus pursuing them to accept their bogus autonomy. At this critical juncture I request my Goan brothers to be united, leaving aside all the major issues, such as Samyukta Maharashtra, and be prepared for the action that may be taken against the Portuguese regime."

" The Goa National Congress " Mr. Desai said, " also decided to call an extraordinary session in Bombay during the last week of September to decide upon the course of action which will be placed before the Goan people for approval.

" The Portuguese Government are not ready even to give the minor rights to the Goans and in this light I think that the negotiations stage is over.

"I also appeal to the Government of India to take firm stand against the Portuguese. Goans have already declared that Goa is a part of India and not of Portugal and thus it is the duty of the people of India to help Goans in the forthcoming struggle against Portuguese regime."

Below extract from information recd, in this office dated 3rd June 1950 re. National Congress Goa.

Secret.

Office of the D.I.G.P., C.I.D., B.S.
Gamadia House, Warden Road, Bombay
Dated 9th June, 1950.

No. 45/02/FOR/50.

Forwarded with compliments to the Deputy Commissioner of Police,
S.B., C.I.D. Bombay for information.

A. D. I. G. P. I. B., C. I. D., B. S.

Extract from information recd. in this office dated 3rd June 1950 re : National Congress Goa.

The Second Conference of the National Congress, Goa was held at Londa (Belgaum District) on 26th and 27th May, 1950. The proceedings of the Conference which were conducted 'en camera' commenced at 2-00 p.m. on the 26th ; 42 delegates hailing from Bombay, Goa, Belgaum, Banda and other places attended it. The following were prominent amongst them :

1. Shri S. B. D'Silva, Bombay.
2. Shri V. P. Borkar, Bombay.
3. Shri B. B. Borkar, Bombay.
4. Shri Shamrao Lad, Bombay.
5. Shri Vaman Desai, Bombay.
6. Shri Mario Rodriques, Bombay.
7. Shri Kashinath Lad, Bombay.
8. Shri Enio Pimento, Bombay.
9. Shri Dr. Telu Mascerenhas, Bombay.
10. Mrs. Bert Furtado, Bombay.
11. Shri Antone Furtado, Bombay.
12. Dr. Zambavalikar.
13. Shri G. S. Kurade, Bombay.
14. Shri Nanda Vernekar, Belgaum.
15. Shri T. Mankonkar, Belgaum.
16. Shri Sakharam Mordekar, Belgaum.
17. Shri Balkrishna Shirvekar, Belgaum.
18. Shri Gajanan Desai, Goa.
19. Shri Dr. J. Carvalho, Goa.
20. Shri Madhav Bir, Goa.
21. Shri M. Costa, Goa.
22. Shri Vadhu Shirodkar, Goa.
23. Shri S. Dishwanath Lavande, Banda.
24. Shri Shantaram Dhond, Banda.
- 25 Shri Atmaram Naik, Band

At the outset Shri Waman Desai raised an objection that there was no full quorum and that the meeting should be postponed etc. But in the meantime delegates from Belgaum arrived making a full quorum and the proceedings of the Conference actually commenced at 2-00 a.m on 27th May 1950. Shri S. S. D'Silva, President of the National Congress, Goa, read out a report of the work done by him during the past year in his regime. Thereupon the various resolutions were discussed and Dr. Jambavalikar, Shri Kurade, Mrs. Furtado, Shri Carvalho and others made speeches. The name of the President has been kept a secret since he has to work from Goa. Shri Vishwanath Lavande was nominated as General Secretary, replacing Shri V. P. Borkar, and the Working Committee will include the following members from Goa :

1 Mr. Gajanan Desai.	5. Shri. Braz.
2. Mr. Arman Pereira.	6. Dr. Sanjagiri.
3. Mr. Madhav Bir.	7. Dr. Dubhash.
4. Mr. Madhu Shirodkar.	

Shri Lavande has yet to nominate the members from Bombay and elsewhere.

The following programme for a period of 3 months in the first instance was chalked out :

1. Enlisting members and collection of funds.
2. Issuing pamphlets every fortnight and secret circulation of the same in Goa.
3. The Central Office of the National Congress, Goa should be located at Bombay.
4. Propaganda for the spread of Marathi and Hindi amongst Catholics in Goa should be started.

It was proposed that after a few months Shri A. S. De Mello of Bombay should be appointed as President of the Organisation with the object of bringing the Catholic masses of Bombay and elsewhere under the fold of the National Congress and to facilitate collection of funds. Shri De Mello, being an influential man, it is believed that the Organisation will be stronger if he takes the lead.

Sunday Standard, dated 4th June 1950

Cultural Renaissance of Goa Supreme Need of the Hour

Appeal at Gomantak Literary Conference, Belgaum, June 3

" Cultural emasculation was the 'achievement' of Portuguese imperialism in Goa, and cultural regeneration of Goa was the prime duty of the literary men of Goa and Maharashtra ", was the view advanced by Mr. Prabhakar Padhye in his presidential address to the 5th session of the Gomantak Marathi Literary Conference at Belgaum.

Expressing the view that the freedom of Goa may not come early, Mr. Padhye said, " even if it comes in the near future, it cannot be fully realized unless there is cultural renaissance in Goa. There must always be the glow of cultural renaissance before the sun of freedom rises, but this is especially true of Goa because of the peculiar nature of Portuguese imperialism, which was dominated by the priesthood and which looks upon its empire as the glorious inheritance of the valorous deeds of the Portuguese forefathers ".

The Portuguese used all sorts of barbarous methods in demolishing the cultural heritage of Goa and denationalising the Goan people. It has broken the Goan society into two contradictory parts, making both of them reactionary.

Cultural Contact.

Contrary to general supposition, the cultural contact between the Goans and the Portuguese has not elevated the cultural level of Goa, but in fact has depressed it. The peculiar amalgam that one finds in that unfortunate land is in fact a mixture of unsavoury features of both the original Goan and the Portuguese cultures.

Cultural regeneration of Goa is therefore the most urgent task before the Goan people and" Mr. Padhye expressed a profound faith in the ability of the Goan literary and cultural leaders to do this, judging by their achievements in the literary fields and the doggedness with which they fought the Portuguese depredations for the preservation of the Marathi language and literature."

Mr. Padhye made a pointed reference to the number of schools and libraries conducted by the Marathi people in Goa in the face of the hostility of the Portuguese Government. The persistent effort to conduct Marathi newspapers and periodicals, notwithstanding the stupid and vicious censorship was quoted by him as an example of the never say ' die' attitude of the Goan people.

Mr. Padhye then analysed the present-day Marathi literature in Goa, which has achieved an amount of reputation all over Maharashtra. Tracing the emotional content of this literature to the luxurious nature of Goa, he contrasted it with the literature of the rest of Maharashtra and expressed the view that it would beneficially affect the Marathi literature provided certain weaknesses in it were corrected.

In this connection, he observed that the present-day literature of Goa was too dreamy, that it possessed no tempo and that the writers style was affected by too much literariness. He said, he was distressed to note that the regional tone of the literature was gradually fading. He pleaded for the restoration of this.

For this he advocated the use of Konkani for dialogue and such other purposes. He pleaded for the development of the regional peculiarities in Goan literature arid suggested that Goan writers should draw inspiration from their history which was rich in glorious deeds and from their folk literature and art.

Free Press Journal, dated 17th June 1950

INDIA LOSING " COLD WAR " WITH PORTUGAL

Bombay, Friday.

India was losing the " cold war " with Portugal in relation to the future of Portuguese territories in India as a result of the tearing propaganda carried on by the latter in the Americas, observed Mr. George Vaz, General Secretary of the Goan People's Party, in a statement today.

In this connection, Mr. Vaz instance the recent speech of Mr. Joseph Martin, the U. S. Republican leader, and referred to the manner in which opinion was being crystallised in that country with a view to making another Kashmir of Goa.

Free Press Journal, dated 17th June 1950

National Standard, dated 19th June 1950

Harassment of Goa Congress Workers.

Secretary's Statement.

"A regular campaign of house searches and harassment of persons who have shown pro-Indian feelings has been started by the Portuguese authorities in Goa," Mr. Waman Desai, former General Secretary of the Goa National Congress, said here today.

Mr. Desai said that during this week houses of four well-known leaders of the Congress movement in Goa were searched. They have also been warned of "dire consequences" if they continued their activities.

The Executive of the Goa National Congress which is meeting in Bombay on June, 18 will decide on "intensifying the freedom struggle in Goa", Mr. Desai said.

"This present campaign of the Portuguese authorities is because of our decisions taken at the recent secret session at Londa to activate our movement inside and outside the Portuguese possessions for achieving freedom", he added.

National Standard, dated 19th June 1950

Goans' desire to shake off foreign rule reiterated

Goans' Desire to shake off foreign rule reiterated. The Goa National Congress reiterated its stand for her peoples desire to cast off the foreign yoke at a meeting in Bombay on the fourth anniversary of its emancipation struggle on Sunday.

The struggle for the merger of the Portuguese colonies with India was started this day in 1946 when Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Socialist leader defied the ban on meetings and processions at Margao. Dr. Lohia that day inaugurated the 'Goan people's struggle for freedom of speech' with an address at a mass rally in the Portuguese settlement.

Under the presidentship of Mr. S. B. D'Silva, about 200 active members of the Goa National Congress passed two resolutions expressing the determination of Goans to merge their homeland with the Indian Republic.

One of the resolutions asked the Goans to prepare for "action" which the Working Committee of the Goa National Congress will announce shortly.

The resolution said : "Goans are one with the people of India, bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, and Goa has no place but in the bosom of mother India."

"We appeal to the Government of India to stand by the people of Goa at this hour and support actively their struggle for democracy."

The Portuguese authorities in Goa arrested Prof. Madhav Bir of Panjim, this week on the grounds that he was according to reports reaching Bombay connected with the movement for the merger of Goa with 'the Indian Republic' on Sunday.

The Goa National Congress said in a statement that the Portuguese Government had started a campaign to victimise any one suspected of pro-Indian leanings.

The arrest of Prof. Bir was "a glaring example of the state of lawlessness in the colony and the sweeping actions of the foreign officials in curbing the nationalist tendencies of the Goans", the statement added.

Special Branch (I), C.I.D.,
Bombay 19th June 1950

Sir,

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa), in celebration of its 4th anniversary of the War of Independence, a public meeting attended by about 30 persons, was held at the Forbes Gujarati Hall, Vithalbhai Patel Road, Bombay, on 18th June 1950 at about 10-30 a.m.. Shri S. B. D'Silva presided.

The President, Shri Waman Desai, B. B. Borkar, Shri Kamat. Francis D'Souza and J. Karapurkar made speeches.

The following two resolutions were passed unanimously :—

(1) Considering that from the earliest times Goa has shared with the rest of India a great and glorious civilization with a distinct individuality which her people seek to preserve and develop unhindered.

Considering that during four hundred and thirty nine years of political domination over our people, the Portuguese have blighted our manhood and by suppressing freedom of thought, freedom of association and freedom of expression, have reduced us to moral and spiritual bankruptcy.

Considering that during the period they have neglected to develop the natural resources of our country, failed to of flogging the *satyagrahis* and sentencing them to long terms of deportation with a view to suppressing the legitimate rights, promote industry and commerce, sapped the very vitals of our economic life and allowed our ancient prosperity to dwindle and decay until our towns and villages stand deserted and our fields lie fallow because our people have been forced to emigrate in search of livelihood.

Considering that the Portuguese during this period have brought the sanctity of Christianity into disrepute by using the institutions of the Catholic Church contrary to the express directions of her authorities, bidding her missionaries to bring their Faith not their ways, to impose an unnatural way of life upon our people rejecting their customs and manners instead of preserving these in their integrity and thereby denationalised our people in order to strengthen a foreign domination.

Considering that today every peaceful means is denied our people of awakening themselves and arising to the height of their natural dignity, and every peaceful attempt to vindicate their elementary human rights and liberties is met by brutal and violent repression.

Considering that while their fellow-countrymen in the rest of India have already achieved freedom and independence and that in the context of the Charter of the United Nations' Organisation and the declaration of human rights every day that passes brings home to our people their degradation under the heel of foreign fascist imperialism.

This meeting of the National Congress (Goa) correctly interpreting the anxious aspiration of the people hereby declares that Goans are one with the People of India, bone of their bone, flesh of their flesh, that Goa has no place but in the bosom of the Motherland, and her people desire to cast off forever the yoke of the foreigner so that we may be free to vindicate the elementary democratic right of self determination and shape their future destiny within the Indian Union.

And this meeting of the National Congress (Goa) appeals to the Government of India and the Indian National Congress, the mouth-piece of the Indian People, to stand by the people of Goa in this hour of their need and actively to support their struggle for independence and democracy.

(2) Calling upon the people of Goa to be prepared to carry out the programme of action which the Congress will put into effect step by step. This programme will entail hardships and sufferings and the Congress is confident that people will endure these with patience and courage until achievement crowns effort.

Shri Waman Desai while placing the first resolution before the meeting read out the leaflet dated 18th June 1950 issued by the National Congress (Goa), headed "*Message of 18th June-Do or Die*". He further said that the Congress having full conception of the message 'Do or Die' would in future fight for the independence of Goa and would not rest until the goal as achieved and the fascist rule of Portuguese was destroyed

Shri B. B. Borkar during the course of his speech said that Goan people before expecting help from the Government of India or the Indian National Congress, they themselves determinedly prepare for the achievement of their freedom and should not waste their time in talks and blaming each other in the present juncture.

Shri Francis D'Souza suggested that a move should be launched in the right direction to collect funds for the day-to-day activities of the Congress.

The other speakers paid homage to all those men and women who sacrificed their lives and fought for the liberation of Goa.

With "Vande Matram" at the end the meeting terminated peacefully at about 12 noon.

National-Standard, dated 27th June 1950

Readers' views future of Goa

Sir,

Before the last two world wars American foreign policy was one of isolation, but recently the pendulum has swung to the other side. Now the American politician thinks that it is his birth-right to poke his nose into other people's affairs.

Recently Mr. Joseph Martin, the U. S. Republican leader prayed that U. S. should guarantee Portuguese rule in Goa, as Portugal was a faithful ally of the Americans. The argument of Mr. Martin is imperialistic silly and absurd. Does he think that Goa is a booty that can be distributed among his faithful friends.

To make matters worse the State Department of America issued a sugar coated warning to India. The State Department, it seems, is confident that India as a Charter member of United Nations will not undertake to absorb Goa contrary to the wishes of its inhabitants. The statement makes no reference to the Portuguese Government in Goa.

Of course, India has made it clear that it stands by the democratic principles of reference of the accession issue to the will of the people, provided conditions essential for a free exercise of this will are fulfilled. On the

other hand, what is the record of America ? Is America giving bombs and arms to Bao Dai's Government according to the wishes of the people of Indo-China ? Is America fighting the Chinese Communist Government according to the wishes of the Chinese people ? Then why preach to others what you do not practise ?

It is a big tragedy that America has not learnt one great lesson from recent events, *i.e.*, the major incentive to Communism is colonialism.

As for the future of Portuguese rule in Goa, there can be no two answers. They have to quit. The only question that arises is : " How is Goa going to fit into the new political set up in India ? Is she going to demand autonomy or is she going to merge with some State ? "

And we Goans will answer these questions only when Portuguese rule in Goa is removed. It is the duty of the Indian people to help us to put an early end to colonial rule in Goa.

—HERMANO FERNANDES.

Free Press Journal, dated 4th July 1950

Factual Report on Goa situation Portugal's move

Bombay, Monday.

The Portuguese Government at Lisbon in their failure to convince the people the propaganda carried on by the Goa Government, have deputed two representatives to examine and report the situation in Goa, it is learnt from a reliable source here.

The Goa Government, as usual, have ordered not to disclose the news.

Free Press Journal, dated 10th July 1950

Solve Goa issue without delay National Congress Secretary's Appeal

Bombay, Sunday.

A fervent appeal to the Government of India to solve the problem of Goa without any further delay was made by Mr. Vishvanath Lavande, General Secretary, National Congress (Goa), at a meeting of Goans held in Bombay today.

" There can be no question of plebiscite on the fundamental issue of freedom from foreign power ", he said, " we are Indians and we shall live and die as Indians ". He hoped that the Government of India would solve the problem of Goa by other methods than by holding a plebiscite.

Mr. Janardan Kamat, an old veteran worker of Goa, asked the audience to refuse to be called emigrants. He said he was an Indian first and last and to be called an emigrant an insult to any self respecting Goan.

The President of the meeting, Mr. D'Souza then called upon the Goans in Bombay to be active so as to bring the masses towards the Congress.

National Congress (Goa) Central Committee

Vice-President and Treasurer.—Mrs. Berta Menezes Furtado—daughter of Mr. Menezes Braganza, a well-known leader of Goa, and a staunch critic of Portuguese Government; niece of T. B. Cunha, a leader of 1946 movement, sentenced by Military Court for 8 years, now imprisoned in

Peniche ; wife of Dr. Antonio Furtado, ex-Administrator of village communities in Goa and a judge of Goa, who refused to sign on the protest referendum now in exile at Belgaum.

Mrs. Berta Menezes took part in the movement of 1946. Age about 35, comes from a respectable family at Chandor, Salcete, Goa. Well educated in Portuguese and English, she is reported to be a graduate.

Dr. P. G. Zambawalikar, a medical practitioner graduated from Medical College, Nova-Goa, settled in Belgaum since last 8 to 10 years. A social and political worker; Secretary Samyukta Maharashtra Parishad, Dakshina Vibhag, exercises good influence in the public field of Belgaum. He was secretary of Gomantak Marathi Sahitya Sammelan. A member of National Congress (Goa). Age about 35 years. Native Place Zambavlim, Goa.

Shri Lawande comes from Goa Velha. Age about 27 years. A graduate of Banares Hindu University. Took active part in the 1946 movement, courted arrest, harshly beaten by Goa police. Finally sentenced to 29 years by Mapuca Court being charged for dacoity on Mapuca Treasury in his absence. Escaped from Goa and settled at Bandem now at Belgaum.

Mr. S. B. Desilva—Bombay Advocate.

Shri Shamrao G. Lad.—Native place Chikhli, Bardez, Goa, age about 42 years. Son of a well-known artist, late Ganpatrao L. Lad. He himself is an artist, diploma holder of Sir J. J. School of Arts, resident of Bombay.

Bombay Committee.—President Shri B. D. Satoskar, age 40, a graduate of Bombay University. Portuguese education upto Inter Arts, of Goa Liceu. Printer and Publisher of Marathi Books, Editor. Author and Journalist. A social worker, chairman of the Reception Committee of Gomantak Marathi Sahitya Sammelan recently held at Belgaum. President of Mumbai Marathi Granth Sangrahalaya, Lamington Road Branch ; Secretary, Gomantak Marathi Vangmaya Mandal. Once Secretary of the Goa Hindu Association ; Director of the Bombay Co-operative Provincial Insurance Co. ; Director of Maharashtra Grantha Bhandar, connected with many other social and literary institutions of Bombay ; resident of Bombay for the last 20 years.

Shri J. V. Kamat a social, literary and political worker of Goa. Age 63, native of Pardoa, Goa, was connected with almost all the public activities in Goa for the last 40 years. Being a selfless worker commands respect from all the people of Goa, did not participate in the struggle openly but worked always behind the screen. Left Goa a year back. Well conversant with Portuguese language.

Mr. Enio Pimenta, Secretary, Happened to come to notice recently. Age about 25 to 30 years. A teacher in Goan Union High School.

Poona Branch.—Pandit Mahadeo Shastri Joshi, president : comes from Ambedem, Safari, Goa. Age 45 years. A pandit of Sanskrit language. Marathi author, Social worker, President of Gomantak Mandal, Poona, was the chairman of 4th Gomantak Marathi Sahitya Sammelan held at Poona in 1947 under the presidentship of Mr. Shankarrao Deo and which was attended by the Chief Minister Shri Balasaheb Kher. Connected with literary activities of Poona. Settled there for last 20 years.

All these people are Portuguese subjects.

APPENDIX A

National Congress (Goa)

To

The Members of Parliament, New Delhi.

Sir,

I am directed to approach you with this memorandum to impress upon the Government of India the prime necessity for giving their immediate and urgent attention to Goa which is likely to assume great importance in this hour of world crisis.

The Korean conflict has evoked from the Prime Minister his great peace move which, to all intents has proved abortive due to the intransigent attitude of some of the world powers. As a result of this, American attitude towards India has undergone a vast change and today that attitude is anything else but sympathetic. It is therefore certain that the Portuguese power in India will take full advantage of America's change in attitude and will offer greater facilities to the American interest in Goa which are already having full sway.

It is more than certain that in the event of a world conflagration India will remain neutral, unless her independence is menaced. But as long as pockets of foreign powers exists on the Indian soil, India's neutrality will be of no avail. What guarantee is there that these pockets will not be turned into naval and air bases ? Just as Formosa has been encircled by the American Navy as a so-called precautionary measure against the threat of Communism to that Chinese island, so also it is not difficult to envisage that these Indian territories which are still held by foreign powers, will be transformed into active bases of warfare. We shall then be constrained to ask the question—"Whither India's neutrality ?" lime has therefore come for the Government of India to act and to act swiftly. lest their efforts at establishing peace in Asia and the world may be failed due to the presence of foreign troops in India which are being concentrated in Goa day in and day out.

The problem of the residual foreign rule on the Indian soil can and should no doubt be solved by peaceful and democratic means. But in this hour of crisis when India's neutrality is likely to be menaced and when bloodshed threatens peace in Asia the only way to safeguard India's interests is to station Indian Troops in all these Indian territories now held by foreign powers so that belligerent nations may not have the opportunity to establish naval and air bases there and thereby to violate India's neutrality.

You, Sir, are the representatives of the Indian people. The people of Goa are historically, geographically and culturally Indians and hence we have run to you with fervent hope that you will exert all your influence to ask the Government of India to act swiftly and avert, what to all interests appears a forthcoming catastrophe. The people of Goa must be saved from war and the only way to save them is to give them protection of the Indian Army. The people of Hyderabad and Kashmir were saved by the Indian Army. Time has come to the same Army to save the people of Goa and to defend the frontiers of India. The importance of the Goan harbour must not be overlooked and it must not be allowed to become a danger-spot in India.

In order to keep you fully informed of the conditions that exist in Goa at the moment the attached memorandum is submitted hereby with respect. Jai hind.

Yours faithfully,
V.N. Lavande,
General Secretary,

Union to Escape Detention and perhaps even worse

Revols and National struggle.—From the 16th century there have been several revolts against the Portuguese power. The revolt of the Pintos which was a rebellion of the Goan Clergy and revolt of Ranes, a Rajput Tribe of Goa, in 1852, 1871, 1895, 1901 and 1912 were all put down with the utmost ruthlessness and brutality.

The great Indian National struggle for liberation from the British yoke could not help having repercussion in Goa. The Goa Congress Committee affiliated to the Indian National Congress was founded in 1928 at the Calcutta Congress. But owing to the extremely authoritarian and repressive policy of the Portuguese Government no open organised movement was possible in Goa. Still in 1946, a non-violent movement was launched for obtaining Civil Liberties. In this movement Goans had strong support and encouragement of Mahatma Gandhi. It was met with further repression, arrests, imprisonments, savage beatings and exiles with sentences ranging from 4 years to 29 years. Five Goan leaders are still locked up in the fortress of Peniche in Portugal and many more are rolling in the fortress of Aguada in Goa.

Inspite of all these terrors, the movement for liberation from Portuguese yoke continues. It is because of this movement that the Portuguese have let loose in Goa about 5,000 European and African troops to overawe our people.

Meetings of Loyalty and protests.—Since, 1947, the Goa Government has put up three big shows in the form of the public meetings to demonstrate the world that the Goans are *En Masses* for the perpetuation of Portuguese rule. The most recent of these shows was held on 9th March 1950 when the whole machinery of the Dictatorship was put into operation following the Indian Prime Minister's declaration regarding Goa in the Parliament, on the 6th February 1950. All Government servants and in fact all sections of the people were forced to sign protest forms and to send telegrams to Lisbon and attend public meetings. Dr. Antbni Furtado, a judge of the Administrative Tribunal and Administrator of Village Communities was dismissed for refusing to collaborate and was threatened with deportation to Cabo Verde, and had to flee to Belgaum for safety.

The struggle.—Though the National movement is well alive, the truth is that since 1946 the task of Goan nationalists has in consequence of the ever growing repression of the Portuguese Government and the demoralisation of their own rank and file grown much more difficult. The general impression is that Goans can do little without the help and encouragement of the Indian Government and that the Indian Government is indifferent.

The fact of India having a representative in Goa, inspite of Portuguese Government's obstinate attitude, we feel implied accepting the right of Colonialism in India. Moreover, the present Consul in Goa, Major A. N. Mehta has been subjected to all manners of vexatious attitudes which are neither friendly nor diplomatic. He is being openly watched and has

been completely isolated by threatening all Goans who might be friendly with him. The democratic policy of the Indian Government is not understood by the Portuguese Government and is even deliberately interpreted as weakness. Besides the present Governor-General of Goa has repeated more than once, inspite of friendly relations, that Goa has hitherto been, is and shall be Portuguese.

Portugal has even tried to make America interfere and its Press *Lusitania* has ever given a distorted report of the American State Department's reply. Still neither the Indian Government nor its Ministry in Lisbon made the least observation regarding these facts. Some members of the National Congress (Goa) interviewed the Portuguese Consul General in Nairobi, and he affirmed that the Goa problem would be dealt with on an international level and that America supported Portugal.

In fact American interests are making progress in Goa. American gold and goods come in from all sides. The Radio Goa, which is growing very popular and which does a lot of Portuguese propaganda, is at the service of the "Voice of America", big Indian Industrialists advertising their products through it. It is said that an American Air Line is going to work the Bombay-Goa route, and that they have already solicited the improvement of Mormugao Aerodrome. The black and white troops are armed with American war-materials. In face of all these, what seems to be indifference and almost perpetual postponement of Goan problem by Government of India has very disheartening and depressing for those Goans who after sacrificing everything are today suffering jails and exile for self-respect. Even those outside jails in Goa live in utter humiliation. We ask, are we not Indians ? Are we not part and parcel of India ? Did every little taluka in India fought separately for its freedom ? Did not Mahatma Gandhi tell us in 1946 that we have nothing to fear, that we had the strength of the whole of India behind us ? Where is that strength now ? Has it disappeared with Mahatma and is India really a free country without us ? Is it to India's prestige to tolerate colonialism on her soil three years after achieving freedom from the British ?

We were a mere pimple on the fair face of India, but with the Portuguese in fascist regime of terror and oppression which renders life intolerable in Goa, that pimple has developed into a purulent abscess and needs a prompt surgical operation before it develops into incurable cancer.

We think with Dr. Soekarno, that " So long as colonialism exists in India, in Indo-China, Pondicherry, Goa and Korea, there can be no real peace in the world, and still less in Asia. "

Memorandum

The Portuguese possessions in India consist of Goa, Daman and Diu, having a total area of 4,240 square kilometres and a total population of 6,24,177 inhabitants of which roughly 40 per cent are Christians and the rest Hindus with a microscopic minority of Muslims. Goa is situated on the Konkan Coast between the Districts of Ratnagiri in the North and Karwar in the South. Its inhabitants speak Konkani. Daman with the small territories of Pragana and Nagar Haveli is on the Gujarat Coast; Diu a tiny islet together with the isolated spots of Gogola and Simbor is in the South of the Peninsula of Kathiawar. Of these territories Goa is the largest and most important.

History—The history of Goa under the Portuguese, can be divided into 3 periods : Monarchy, Republic and Dictatorship.

Monarchy which includes the time of conquest and that of forced conversions ended in 1910 when Portugal became a Republic.

During the Republic the laws became more liberal and all discriminations existing till then between Christians and non-Christians were removed. There were even promises of administrative and financial autonomy which, however, remained only on paper.

Then in 1926 came the fascist regime of Salazar, the present Prime Minister of Portugal. From then started all sorts of discriminatory laws. A new Charter for overseas Dominions called the Acto Colonial came into existence which made it clear that Goans were no longer citizens as hitherto. Only Europeans were Citizens. Goans were "assimilados" if they knew how to read and write Portuguese, and "indigenas" if they did not. Moreover in its para II, the Acto Colonial proclaims that; "It is the historical function of the Portuguese Nation to Possess and Colonise overseas dominions and to civilize the Nations of those lands, at the same time exercising over them a moral influence and control through the 'Pardoado of the East'.

Administration.—The administration is thoroughly autocratic. There is no existence of Local Self-Government. The smallest measures need the sanction of the Portuguese Central Government in Lisbon. The municipalities are in charge of Committees nominated by the Governor-General who also interferences in the nomination of presidents of other institutions.

There is supposed to be a Governor's Council having an elected minority, but the process of elections is completely falsified by the Government, so that only people of their own choice are elected. The candidatures are in reality presented by the Government through intermediaries. The electoral board is chosen by the Government. There is no other supervision and so those elected entirely represent the will of the Government.

Education—All Schools in Goa, including the English teaching secondary schools recognised by the Indian Universities are under Government Control through "the Mocidade Portuguesa" (Portuguese Youth), an organisation similar to Hitler's and Mussolini's Brown and Black Shirts. All schools are required to have a centre of this organisation and every student is forced to join it and pay his membership. Through this institution the students are trained to acquire a fascist mentality and particularly an anti-Indian attitude.

Civil Liberties—A strict censorship controls the press and all other publications including the invitations to public meetings and functions must be submitted to the Censor Board before being allowed publication. There is no freedom of association. No public meeting or assembly can be convened without the permission of the authorities and every intended talk or speech must have the Censor's visa. Any infringement of these laws is dealt with severely. Recently a daily "A voz da India" was suspended and its editor had to flee to the Indian Union to escape detention and perhaps even worse.

APPENDIX B

Economic sanctions against Goa as proposed by N. C. (Goa)

The long delay in dealing with the problem of Portuguese possessions in India having a demoralising effect on the Goan people, which fact greatly hinders the national struggle in that territory, for the delay is attributed to indifference on the part of the Indian Government and not rarely even to

weakness, and considering that the result of the Indian Government's friendly, diplomatic negotiations with the Portuguese Government has up to now been nil and already 5 months have elapsed since India's note was sent to Portugal, we propose that the following sanctions be applied to Goa.

1. *Commerce*.—The immediate establishment of a branch of the Reserve Bank of India in Goa under penalty or closing the *Banco National Ultramarino* in Bombay.

Stopping all commercial relation between India and Goa. (The export of cattle and the import of coconut, areca etc.). The Portuguese Rupee has only a fictitious value as it has no gold reserve and its circulation is restricted to Portuguese India. So much so that the Portuguese B. N. U. in Lourenzo Marques while accepting the Indian Rupee does not accept the Portuguese Rupee.

The cattle exported to Goa serve to feed only richer class of Christians, mainly Europeans and their white and Negro troops.

The import into India of Goan coconut, areca etc., only profits the landlords and the merchants.

The landlords in spite of their economic independence are a class averse to any form of progress. They are hostile to the ideal of nationalism, being victims of the pro-Government propaganda that with the integration of Goa with India they will lose their lands and properties and that everything is safe while the Portuguese are there.

The merchants though privately declaring themselves nationalists are ever ready to side with the Portuguese Government even for every meagre advantage.

(2) *Indian Capital and Financial Measures*.—No Indian capital to be allowed to be invested in Goa.

No person to be permitted to carry or send more than fixed quota of money into Goa from the Indian territory. The economical condition and the commercial and industrial progress of Goa is mainly dependent (in Indian capital. Just at present, the high prices of coconut and areca and the exploration of the iron and manganese mines has created some confusion in the minds of the people, who fail to note that those prices and exploration are entirely dependent on Indian capital and the high prices of coconut and areca are but the result of their importation into India.

Moreover, given the uncommon psychology of the Goan people, which is but the said consequence of a most savage and dastardly colonial rule, this measure is apt to be one of the most efficacious. The Goan mentality has fallen too low to understand spiritual values. But once the belly is hit the Goan is sure to react, and awakened to reality, where his interest lie.

(3) *Newspapers*.—No Goan papers carrying anti-Indian propaganda to be allowed into India, and the English, Konkani and Portuguese Goan papers published in the Indian Union doing anti-Indian or pro-Portuguese propaganda to be suspended. Almost all English, Marathi, and other Vernacular papers from the Indian Union are banned in Goa and it is but just that the same measure should be applied in retaliation to Goan papers, firstly because they support Portugal's fascist colonial rule in India; secondly because they do pro-Portuguese and anti-Indian propaganda among

Goans living in India by distorting truth and even facts ; thirdly because they are subsidised to hostilise the national struggle for Goa's freedom from colonial rule.

(4) *Foreigners*.—Goans as foreigners should be subject to all the restrictions applied to other foreigners and to all the measures which Indian citizens are subjected to in Goa. Further strictness should be employed in the customs.

Since the Portuguese Government does not consider nor allows the Goans to consider themselves and Goa part and parcel of India, they should be treated as foreigners. As such, they should not be allowed to enter the Army, Navy and Air Force, nor occupy Government posts, nor be allowed any facilities to acquire Indian citizenship, etc.

(5) *Students*.—Recognition should be suspended to all the English Schools in Goa and admission of Goan students in Indian schools and colleges hindered. They should be given no facilities to acquire Indian citizenship.

All schools in Goa, including the English are under Government control through the Portuguese Youth (Mocidade Portuguesa), an organisation similar to Hitler's and Mussolini's Brown and Black Shirts. All schools are compelled to have a centre of this organisation and pay its membership. Through this organisation students are trained to acquire a fascist mentality, and particularly an anti-Indian attitude.

(6) *Severance of Diplomatic Relations*.—The fact of India still having a representative in Goa, inspite of the Portuguese Government's obstinate attitude, we feel implied that she accepts the right of colonialism in India. Moreover, the present Consul, Mr. A. N. Mehta, has been subjected to all manner of vexations, attitudes which are certainly neither "diplomatic" nor "friendly". He is openly watched and has been completely isolated by threatening all Goans having friendly relations with him. The democratic policy of the Indian Government is not understood by the Portuguese Government and is even deliberately interpreted as weakness.

Besides, the present Governor-General of Goa has repeated more than once in spite of the "friendly negotiations" that "Goa has been, is and shall always remain Portuguese".

Recently, Portugal has even tried to make America interfere and has through its Press *Lusitania* even given a distorted report of the American State Department's reply. Still neither the Indian Government nor its Minister in Lisbon made not the least observation regarding these facts.

We the people of Goa have little strength to fight against foreign rulers, specially given the fascist regime of terror which allows no possibility of any struggle inside Goa. Many are rotting in jails in Goa and abroad under monstrous sentences. Recently, a decree of amnesty to political prisoners has been published by the Portuguese Government which applied to all, even to those who attempted armed revolts, except the Goan nationalists and the Indian Government who through its representative in Paris sent a protest to the French Government against the sentences meted to the patriots of Mahe, has till now remained indifferent regarding our prisoners.

We the nationalists of Goa, realise and feel that Goa's problem is an urgent one. The longer it takes to be solved, the more difficult it will become. Considering this we request the Indian Government to fix a date on which our problem will definitely be dealt with.

BI/3/1/50 Portuguese storages caught in the Act (By Political correspondent)

The exposures in *Blitz* mid-week issue of December 13 and 20, regarding the anti-Indian activities of the Portuguese propaganda ring have left the agents of Salazar in jitters. Following the police ban on the Konkani play which they had organised, one of the agents, said to be an employ in a local Bank, has left for Goa for further instructions. These agents have now also resorted to typical Fascist methods of intimidation and threats of violence. Their main target is Mr. R. A. Pereira, Editor of " *The Goa Times* " which is banned into Goa for the last 10 years.

Having been failed in their propaganda activities the agents of the Portuguese Government, are now busy sending anonymous letters, couched in vulgar and violent language threatening to shoot Mr. Pereira and prominent workers of the Goan Political Conference.

Reports from Goa say that a gang of these agents is always seen going up and down from Colem to Londa looking for Goan political workers who might enter into Goa. This gang is also suspected of smuggling activities. particularly of Goan liquor and other contraband goods.

At two Konkani plays, one staged at Princess Theatre on December 25 and the other at Marwari Vidyalaya Hall, on December 26, songs from the banned play are reported to have been sung. A hand-bill of the play staged on December 25, clearly stated that what could not be shown in the banned play of December 13, would be shown on December 26.

BI/3/5/50 Congress and Portuguese Conspire Jointly to Keep Goa in Slavery.—By Jaime De Leite

The Portuguese Minister in India, started the plebiscite offensive in support of the perpetuation of the Portuguese rule over Goa, Daman and Diu by inviting on April 21, to an attractive tea-party function over 100 Goan Quislings at the Portuguese Consulate. Among the prominent guests who are expected to tilt, on the side of Portugal, the balance of the plebiscite, were *Dr. Jos. Alban D'Souza*, khadar-clad Congress M. L. A., of Bombay, *Dr. Altino Colaco*, an ex-Mayor of Bombay, and *sui-generis* labour leader, whose red-tie is striped in deep blue as in case of every labour leader of synthetic labour unions like the Maritime Board; and *Dr. Ubaldo Mascarenhas* also a distinguished khadar-clad Congressite ex-Mayor.

Everything was done to keep up the enthusiasm of the function. The wily diplomat whispering sweet secrets to privileged ears, was seen splitting himself between the possible collaborators. But he made no open speech. The chancelleries have long discovered that the speeches produce zero results. A whisper is more effective. Besides in the crowd there were ears to report.

It must be noted that our " leaders" however white their khadar shewwanis or however red their labour ties, have kept themselves far away from the nationalist activities towards the liberation of Goa. Not one of them was ever found in good health to attend a single meeting connected with these activities.

Dr. Ubaldo Mascarenhas went even further. Presiding over a public function which was attended by the Portuguese Consul and a number of Portuguese Naval Officers, made a public statement that " *he did not want Portugal to quit but only to make a few concessions.*" It was left to Mr. George Lobo to pull him up and to tell the Consul that the opinion expressed by the Mayor was his own and not of the Goan community.

To leave the fate of the people to be decided by the vote of the people is the very essence of democracy but to stretch the principle as to make it a *sine-qua-non* for the liberation of areas smaller than districts, is to make mockery of reason. [Plebiscite is reasonable in Kashmir, it is mockery in Goa.] Besides, Goa is a well known land for miracles, the one kind of miracle to which I can bear witness is the miracle of elections. Whatever the votes that may be caste in the urn against the Government the Portuguese saints operate a miracle upon them and transubstantiate them into votes for Government. Bombay, April 28.

BI/4/3/50—Story of Secret Pak-Portuguese Pact

Secunderabad.—Although the methods of escape of Mir Laik Ali and his family are still a matter of speculation, *Blitz* learns from authoritative sources here that in all probability Mir Laik Ali and his family escaped by a car to Goa via Raichur, Belgaum and Kondal, a journey less than 100 miles, with the help of a powerful Pakistan " Fifth Column " suspected to be still operating in various parts of India.

These sources also did not rule out the possibility of escape by a plane which, according to pre-arranged plan might have landed at some spot in Hyderabad. It is pointed out that before the Police Action, planes smuggling arms from Goa and Pakistan into Hyderabad used to land in places, which were not aerodromes, far away from the human eyes. The air-corridor between Goa and Hyderabad can be crossed within half an hour; it was this route used by Sydney Cotton when he crossed above the clouds, the Indian Territory with his notorious "Mercy Plane."

Sydney Cotton had made a direct dash from Karachi to Marmagoa airport in Goa, as was revealed by *blitz* at that time after ascending from the log book there, and after half an hour's halt took off to Hyderabad. The Goa route was also used for his escape by Lt. Commander Afghan, A.D.C. to the Governor-General of Pakistan, after his secret visit to India in September 1949, when he gave a slip to Indian police and flew to Karachi from Marmagoa air-port.

In case Mr. Laik Ali has escaped to Goa, it is obvious that the Portuguese authorities have given a helping hand to their old friend. Portuguese Army officers often visited Hyderabad even after the Police Action and the downfall of their friends, the Laik Ali Ministry and the Razakars.

The foreign "pimple" of Goa has developed into a main base for machinations against India. Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Mr. Zafarullah Khan, has now made an offer to the Portuguese Government for mutual citizenship rights to the citizens of Portuguese territories in India and of Pakistan.

BI/8/4/50 Portugal Considers India as Asia's "SICK MAN" Salazar grooms dangerous Quislings for counter-propaganda.

Lisbon.—The insolent threat of Dr. Oliveira Salazar to invoke the Atlantic Pact if India "tried to infringe Portugal's sovereignty over Goa, Daman and Diu" and the vicious fulminations of the pre-censored, subsidised Portuguese Press, both metropolitan and colonial, against India and the Goan movement for national liberation, appear to have been inspired by the assumption that India will have its work cut with Pakistan crisis and, therefore, its protests have only an academic value.

The Portuguese Government assumed that, faced with internal problems of acute economic distress, mass political discontent and the Kashmir imbroglio, the Government of India cannot dare to raise an "international issue" by resorting to Police Action to meet Portugal's challenge over the question of Goa, Daman and Diu. The swashbuckling Fascists caucus, which rules Portugal and its colonies with an iron hand, thinks that India today is so weak that it can be brow-beaten by braggadocios of the Portuguese Ministers and their minions in India.

Independent political observers here opine" that the Portuguese cannot invoke the Atlantic Pact, which covers only a determined area in Europe, applying to the Portuguese possessions in India ; many Portuguese statesmen themselves are doubtful about its application to colonial possessions. However, the more rabid elements in Salazar's Fascist Party, such as the group represented by the "União Nacional", are of the opinion that the Atlantic Pact can at least serve as a bludgeon to intimidate G. O. I. which, they openly look down as " the sick man of Asia ". This underestimate is drawn from the reports which Salazar's Government receives from its agents in India.

"Intelligence" Reports Uncomplimentary.—One such "intelligence" report of Portuguese agents state that the military might of India, though impressive numerically, is belied in quality. Referring to the Hyderabad Police Action the report said that it was only the defection of the Nizam that brought the defeat of the Hyderabad Army and the "Razakar Legion". Kashmir was painted as militarily going against India, both in men and money, and the surprising conclusion was that, if a large part of Kashmir was in the hands of India, it was only due to the obstacles of high mountain ranges and deep snows in the way of the raiders and the Pak Army. The report also made some uncomplimentary remarks about India's Commander-in-Chief General K. M. Cariappa.

Other report on the economic conditions in India have been responsible for the hardening of Salazar's attitude towards India, in contrast to some conciliatory statements which he had made earlier. This report *inter alia* says *Good hit to Pakistan*. The relations of India with Pakistan continue without showing any signs of betterment. The three fundamental issues of Kashmir, the division of canal waters (in the Punjab) and the properties of the refugees have added to the grave crisis of economic relations derived from the fact that Pakistan did not devalue its rupee. For this reason in an atmosphere of great acrimony on both sides the commerce between both the countries is practically paralysed; the Government of India has so far refused to fix an official quotation for the Pakistan rupee.

Pakistan was exporting to India, its principal market, jute, cereals and cotton. The last two products can find other markets, namely in Japan but not so the jute which Pakistan possesses only in raw as it does not have any industrial machinery for the manufacture of respective products; besides this, the reduced facilities of its harbours do not permit the export of raw jute in large quantities. On her side, India does not wish to pay prices which would derive of non-devaluation of the Pakistan rupee; all this leads to serious problems, among which rocks the problem of very important industry of jute products of Calcutta which is deprived of its principal source of raw material.

The two contenders thus maintain positions of obstinacy which, if continued indefinitely will naturally bring mutual ruin. My information is that authorities in Pakistan are very confident that they will win this economic "cold war" with India; frequently they affirm that the decision of

non-devaluation is irrevocable and have agreed with its jute growers, today incapacitated to sell the jute which they produce, to buy it at fixed prices, so that they may not abandon or reduce the cultivation. But many believe that although Pakistan will win the issue, the efforts it will have to make will bring grave repercussions in its economy.

FP/8/7 Goa is Sinking into Apathy and Ruin— India must act before it is too late.—By Vasant Nevrekar.

The second half of the month of June 1946 witnessed a strange similarity between the events in the political history of two different beauty spots of India, namely Kashmir and Goa.

While Pandit Nehru about this time had stirred the whole nation by his forced entry into Kashmir defying the laws of the ex-Prime Minister Ranchandra Kak, banning his entry there, Indian newspapers had headlined the same of the redoubtable Socialist leader Ram Manohar Lohia who was arrested by the Portuguese rulers in Goa at about the same period while defying the ban on public meetings in that territory. But subsequent years have seen a clear contrast in the development of the political atmosphere in these two parts of India.

While the people of Kashmir fought and achieved what they wanted to achieve, namely, the release of their beloved leader Sheikh Mahomed Abdulla and the formation of a popular Government, the people who took a brave lead in the struggle against Portuguese imperialism in Goa are still rotting behind the prison bars, having been sentenced to brutal imprisonments for a period ranging from four to fifteen years.

The masses of Goa today are in no mood whatsoever to agitate for the release of their countrymen and for the emancipation of their motherland from the clutches of foreign imperialism. They feel and they have reason to feel, that they have been left in the lurch by their own leaders who, with notable exceptions, have preferred to stay away from the actual field of fight and to fight imperialism from a safe angle, with their strongly worded resolutions passed either at the Sunday meetings held in comfortable halls in Bombay or Belgaum, or at the annual conferences and with their thundering press statements issued from time to time.

Not a Volcano.—Goa is not, as many people have made it a habit to think, a slumbering volcano which may burst any moment. Its people today pass through a stage of frustration and dejection. The habit of looking to the Government of India for the liberation of their motherland has been raising its head.

What is still more unfortunate, there are many among Goans, more Christians than Hindus, who prefer material prosperity such as they enjoy at present under the Portuguese rule to high and noble conceptions of human life like liberty and freedom.

The present scarcity of food stuffs and of such other everyday necessities in the Indian Union is brought out as a contrast to the present day abundance of the same in Goa and is used as an argument in favour of the preservation of the Portuguese rule in Goa. The introduction of prohibition in some States in the Indian Union has been used by these same people as an argument to the same effect.

Frightening the People.—From the side of the rulers there is an attempt to frighten the masses with their military strength typified chiefly by the Negroes. The appearance in different parts of Goa makes one wonder whether this fairland has turned into a part of Africa! Terrorism, direct

and indirect, is in full swing in this beautiful land of peace-loving people. Houses of many pro-Indian Union Goans are being searched, the entry into Goa of newspapers which expose the black deeds of the rulers and their hirelings is prohibited and, in the case of local newspapers, such of them as refuse to dance to the tunes of the Government policy are made to close down publication.

Occasional public meetings sponsored by the Government are held by the henchmen and toadies of the rulers to show to the people at large their firm loyalty to the power that be. To crown this all, even those Government servants who attend parties at the Indian Consulate or simply gather to welcome such personalities as Smt. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, are brought to book by the authorities by being transferred to distant colonies.

The First View.—To a stranger who visits Goa on a pleasure trip, the land looks to be flowing with milk and honey (shall we say wine) and enjoying complete peace. Goa to him is a small happy world by itself cut off from the rest of the world and free from its worries and maladies.

But the peace which a stranger experiences in Goa is forced one born out of helplessness. A Goan today cannot unburden his pentup feelings. He dare not write or speak what he feels not to speak of uttering a single word against the misrule of the powers that be.

In his own motherland a Goan's lot today is that of a dumb driven sheep, of a thief hunted by the agents of the ruler at every step. It is no doubt true that there are many people in Goa today who, taking shelter under the much misunderstood " Latin Culture " indulge in their pomp and splendour, unmindful of what goes on around them. But this microscopical minority, a small drop in the large ocean of the down-trodden humanity of Goa which knows where the harrow pinches.

Prime Minister's Words.—On the 15th of August 1947, Pandit Nehru had thundered " we think also of our brothers and sisters who have been cut off from us by political boundaries and who unhappily cannot share at present in the freedom that has come. They are of us and will remain of us whatever may happen and we shall be sharers in their good and ill-fortune alike ".....Encouraging words indeed, coming as they do from a person who means what he says and who has shown to the world at large that his words are not merely wasted on the winds but are always backed by resolute action. Paradoxically enough exactly this feeling has made Goans inactive, some of whom even go to the length of expecting in Goa very soon a police action of the Hyderabad type.

Considering the weakness of the Goan people at home and the armchair politics of their leaders (sic) outside Goa on the one hand and the relative military strength of the rulers on the other, we hope and trust that the Indian statesmen will find a way out of the present impasse before Goa sinks into the depths of misery, frustration and ruin to which direction it is already heading.

Extract from the '*Diano da Noite*', dated the 13th February 1950

The Greatest Strength and the best weapon

A telegram from Lisbon dated 10th inst. and despatched by Reuter informs that the '*Diario da Manha*' commenting on the declarations of Pandit Nehru, made in the Indian Parliament on the 6th stated that Portugal would not yield, would not alienate or would not get rid of any parcel of its territory.

The same telegram informs further that all morning newspapers published in Lisbon comment very prominently the said statements of the Indian Prime Minister.

It will seem strange, perhaps that the local Portuguese Press should have remained, silent as if in the stand of one who accepts or in some way conforms itself with what was stated in the Indian Parliament with regard to the position of Goa, present and future.

On our part, at least we have to declare that any statement by us was uncalled for, because hundreds of times we have defined our stand we are Portuguese and we shall be Portuguese.

Nor be it said that along with the reaffirmation of this stand it was opportune to lodge our protest as Portuguese. But not even this. Firstly because in the statements of 6th February in the Indian Parliament and others which followed by way of answers to various questions there is nothing new. Everything is a re-edition of what is being said in the neighbouring Press for the last two years, being determined to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for themselves.

In these circumstances any one understands that a reply is uncalled for to what has been replied in a clear and unequivocal manner.

On the other hand the accusations formulated, even if the right of interference in the internal matter of an administration were to be recognised to third parties, lack foundation because, unfortunately for them and fortunately for us, they do correspond to factual truth, facts which are quite different from what they are depicted. Thus, for instance, in these statements, in order to assert that here one lives in a regime of suspicions and imprisonments whence is this being said. Suffice it to know that they point out (with reference to the period of years) only eighteen political prisoners amongst Portuguese and foreign subjects.

And yet well and good that the said statements confess that among foreign subjects or rather, Indian Union subjects out of the Political prisoners they themselves reckon only one.

But even in this regard, the statement made does not correspond to factual truth. It is that this prisoner, one and only one, out of the said eighteen is not a political prisoner. He is a criminal accused of incendiarism, implicated in the assault and dacoity at the Bardez Taluka Revenue Office and as such considered an ordinary criminal having, therefore, been tried not at a military or special Court but at a common Court of Justice at the Bardez Court, which sentenced him for the crimes of which he was accused being proved.

Political prisoners in Goa from among the Indian Union subjects? It is true. We had for instance, not long ago, a political prisoner, Dr. Lohia and irony of fate if at this time we seek to find his whereabouts of a deportee we are perhaps going to find him inside the iron bars of the Indian Republic!

The questions which are ultimately coming up in the Indian Parliament about Goa and the answers and statements which are made in this connection, betray a certain lack of security.

Lack of serenity both in the appreciation of any fact as well as in the decision on any stand is always an evil matter.

Let us not, therefore, in an impulse of indignation otherwise quite or more than legitimate, fall a prey to this sin. With the conscience of our civic

dignity and in the full realization of the justice of the right that belongs to us, let us keep ourselves serene to face whatever may come. Let us march always serenely. Serenity is the greatest strength and the best weapon.

Bombay 4th August 1950.

Sir,

With reference to the attached application from Mr. Oliver Andrade. I beg to report as follows.

Messrs. Almeda, Mohe, and the applicant are helping us in furnishing useful information about the activities of Messrs. Pompei Viegas. Martin Pinto, Ignatius Fonseca and other Portuguese agents in Bombay.

The applicant is a clerk in the Little Flower of Jesus High School which is run by the Goan Union. This Union was established in 1903 with the object of improving the social and educational status of the Goan people as a whole. It has never indulged in politics so far. This being the case some of the interested parties having Pro-Portuguese inclinations are trying with the help of Pompei Viegas to have a complete hold on the school for carrying on political propaganda.

In December last (1949) Mr. E. I. Viegas, a close associate of Mr. Pompei Viegas and a relation of the Vice-Portuguese Consul in Bombay one Mr. A. P. J. Fernandes, who was the Principal of the School was dismissed from the School for his secret anti-Indian Union propaganda and for misappropriation of the School money. The dismissal was upheld by the Education Department, Bombay. Since that time Mr. Pompei Viegas and his group are trying their best to intimidate and even assault those who are loyal to the present management of the school. Mr. Pompei Viegas succeeded in bringing about a strike in the School in January last for the reinstatement of Mr. Viegas, the Principal. But on account of the arrest of Mr. Pompei Viegas the strike terminated and intimidation had subsided. But of late it appears that agents of Mr. Pompei Viegas are again active in harassing the persons connected with the Institution.

I would suggest, therefore, that this may be sent to the Inspector of Police, Princess Street, For enquiries into the matter. A copy of this petition may also be sent to the C.D.P.H.Q., D.C.P.X, and ACP. C.B.(1) for necessary action in the matter. We may also call the suspected persons for interrogation in the matter with a view to getting evidence against Messrs. Pompei Viegas, Martin Pinto, etc., if possible.

Orders solicited.

Bombay 4th August 1950.

The Deputy Commissioner of Police,
Crime Branch, Bombay.

Sir,

I beg to place before you the following facts for your kind consideration and immediate action.

My name is Oliver Andrade and am working as a Librarian and Sports Master at the Goan Union's Little Flower of Jesus High School, Princess Street, Bombay.

On the 2nd of this month, when I was busy in the School, I received a message that some one wanted to see me down in front of the school. I left my work and went down. There I saw one Stanley D'Souza, residing at Debul but mostly found in Chandanwadi, along with another Benjani Gonsalves and two others whose names I do not know.

When I went near them, I was addressed by Stanley and Benjani in filthy language, that I had spoiled the cause of Principal E. Viegas and threatened that they would not only finish me but finish with the school by setting it on fire, so that the school will altogether close down. Then, both of them demanded from me Rs. 50 immediately, there and then. I said why should I pay you ? On hearing this, all four of them rushed on me and started hitting me from all sides, and Benjani gave a kick on my abdomen. Then I saw the others putting on knuckle-dusters to hit me. At this time I ducked and ran away in the school. Stanley D'Souza following me up to the school office and gave a straight warning that he wanted the money by evening 5 O'clock sharp. I avoided them that evening.

Yesterday, the 3rd instant, I was in the school doing some work. No one knew about my presence except the office clerk, Mr. L. C. Fernandes. as I had closed the door. As soon as Fernandes came, the trouble started again. I opened the door to see out, I saw some one speaking to Mr. Fernandes. I closed the door again and, after about ten minutes or so, opened it thinking that the man had gone away. He rushed at me and said that Benjani wanted to see me down. To this I replied that I had no time. Hearing this he went down and came up with the rest of them. When I saw this gang I ran up to the terrace and jumped over and escaped through the adjoining terrace and out.

This time they were I am told, roaming in the school without permission and defying all authority. For your information I may add that these are noted *mavalis* and live on harassing the people, gambling, liquor, robbing shops, etc. It is also said that they are pro-Portuguese and terrorise the people to vote against the Indian Union.

I have already lodged a complaint at the Princess Street Police Station and shall be grateful if you will kindly take the necessary steps in the matter.

Thanking you in advance,

I beg to remain.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed)

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), August 19.

A public meeting was held to celebrate the 4th anniversary of the National Congress Goa, at the Forbes Gujarathi Hall, Bombay, on August 18, 1950. Shri N. M. Joshi presided and about 100 persons attended.

Messrs. Satoskar, Dr. Mascarenhas, Borkar and S. B. D'Silva, Advocate, made speeches.

Mr. Satoskar in his speech said that the latest slogan ' Goa for the Goans ' could be interpreted in many ways. The straightforward meaning of it would be that Goans as Indians must be given their freedom and that the Portuguese should withdraw. He described how the National Congress, Goa had worked ever since it was founded four years ago and said that during the last Goan Political Conference, Shri Jai Prakash Narayan had laid down certain principles as to how the freedom movement should be worked out and said that even in Goa itself where repression prevailed there were ' unseen ' patriots who worked for the liberation of Goa.

Dr. Telu Mascarenhas speaking in Portuguese stated that in this movement for freedom Goans should not think in terms of caste or religion.

Hindus and Christians should work as one entity for the liberation of their dear motherland—Goa. Mr. Janardhan Kamat translated his speech in to Konkani.

Mr. Borkar speaking in Hindi wanted the leaders of the freedom movement to enlist the sympathy and support of the peasants and villagers. He said that these 'Kamgars' should be consolidated, the *Badtkars* i.e., Zamindars should be put down. In his opinion the freedom of India could not be complete unless the foreign possessions in India integrated with India. He criticised the Americans taking interest in the Radio, Aviation and the Military development of Goa and said that they should withdraw without any ado.

Mr. D'Silva speaking in English congratulated the National Congress (Goa) on its fourth anniversary. A lot had been done but much more remained to be done. When the organisation was born four years ago, the British were in power and there were temporary set-backs to the movement making progress. But later India became free and to this day the Goa problem has advanced to a critical stage. The Government of India in the beginning were pre-occupied by many urgent problems so that the Goa problem could not come to the forefront but now it was the duty of Government to press for the withdrawal of Portuguese from Goa. The latest answer of Dr. Salazar indicating that the Portuguese would continue to have hold on their possession in India was a slap on the face of Pandit Nehru which should never be tolerated and the movement should gain momentum day by day.

Shri N. M. Joshi said that the people of India should never tolerate the presence of foreign power and said that the Goans were justified in seeking the help of the Government and the people of India in their fight against the Portuguese imperialism ; but at the same time larger responsibility rested on Goans themselves. He further said that the Government of India should help in their attempt to liberate Goa from the Portuguese-imperialists.

A resolution protesting against the recent statement of Dr. Salazar, that the presence of Western people was still necessary in Asia was unanimously passed.

The meeting which was attended by about 100 Goans (mostly Hindus) terminated at 8-30 p.m.

Bombay Secret Abstract, dated 23rd September 1950

The National Congress, Goa, has issued several printed leaflets in English, Marathi and Portuguese. One such leaflet addressed to the delegates of the Indian National Congress, narrates the detrimental effects of the foreign rule in Goa, declares the aim of the National Congress to be emancipation of Goa from foreign rule and joining the Indian Republic on the basis of self-determination and urges the Indian National Congress to help the Goans in their struggle.

Free Press Journal, dated 12th October 1950.

Times of India, dated 12th October 1950.

Satyagraha in Goa before Janaury—Belgaum, October 11

The All Goa Congress Committee, which recently met here, decided to launch a non-violent *Satyagraha* movement in Goa before January 26, 1951 and appointed a Sub-Committee of three to "prepare a plan of action" it was announced here today.

A resolution passed by the meeting stated : "Since the withdrawal of the British and the proclamation of India as a sovereign democratic republic, the urge for freedom of Goa, Daman and Diu from the fascist rule of Portugal, and the natural desire of the people to join the mother country, from which they have been unfortunately separated hitherto, have increased and become irresistible.

" This meeting of the All Goa Congress Committee is, therefore, of the opinion that immediate preparations be made for a *Satyagraha* campaign for the liberation of these tiny territories.

" The AGCC firmly believes that the issue of foreign pockets is as much the concern of the Indian people as a whole as it is of the inhabitants of those territories, and hence calls upon the people of Daman, Diu and Goa in particular, and fellow Indians in general to join the final non-violent struggle against alien imperialism."

COMMITTEE APPOINTED

The AGCC appointed a committee of three to prepare a plan of action and announce a date for starting the *Satyagraha* on or before January 20 next.

Releasing the text of the resolution Mr. V. N. Lawande, General Secretary of the National Congress (Goa) welcomed the advice given by Dr. Rajkumar, Secretary of the Foreign Department of the All India Congress Committee, to the Goan people to unite.

Mr. Lawande appealed to all groups in Goa to sink their differences and join the *Satyagraha* movement.

Mr. Lawande said he hoped the Goans would realise the need of the hour, and try to intensify " this direct action in order to achieve their long cherished common goal of liberating Goa from the fascist rule of Portugal."

Bombay City C.I.D.S.B.

The Times of India, dated 12th October 1950

Goan Freedom struggle

Satyagraha Plans

BELGAUM, October 11

The All Goa Congress Committee, which recently met here, has decided to launch a satyagraha movement in Goa so as to intensify the Goan freedom struggle. A sub-committee, consisting of three persons, was appointed by the A.G.C.C. to chalk out and plan the movement.

In this connection, Mr. V. N. Lawande, General Secretary of the National Congress (Goa), in a statement has welcomed the recent appeal made by Dr. Rajkumar, Foreign Secretary of the A.I.C.C., asking for unity among the Goan people. Mr. Lawande has appealed to all groups to sink their petty differences and join the satyagraha movement that will be shortly launched by the National Congress (Goa).

Mr. Lawande hopes that the Goans will realise the need of the hour and try to intensify " this direct action in order to achieve their long-cherished common goal of liberating Goa front the Fascist rule of Portugal." —P.T.I.

Sir,

Shri S. B. D'Silva of the National Congress, Goa, saw the Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, on Friday the 8th September 1950 and discussed

the Goa Affairs. It is learnt that Shri D'Silva has been called to Nasik during the forth-coming Session of the Indian National Congress where the Goa affairs will be discussed with Ministers of the Central Government.

If permitted the leaders of the National Congress, Goa, will address the Congress Session on Goa affairs.

It is also learnt that the National Congress, Goa, will call a meeting of their workers in the month of October or November 1950 and will decide to send *morchas* of volunteers to Goa demanding the merger of Goa with India. They have already started enrolling volunteers with this object.

Deputy Inspector of Police.

D.C.P.S.B.I.

National Congress (Goa) Bulletin

Congress Bulletin, 2nd November 1950

Time for Action, 2nd November 1950

It would be well for all those who have lost their independence, that birth right of every human being worth the name to bear in mind that independence is not to be won by merely desiring it and that no sacrifice can be deemed too great for achieving it.

It is regrettable that even after three years of independence the map of India should exhibit those stains, the French and Portuguese possessions, those blots that sully the fair name of our Motherland.

Four years ago, the people of the Portuguese possessions in India made a determined effort to oust the Portuguese through a non-violent struggle. The visible form of their determination was the creation of the National Congress (Goa), the only political Organisation that can claim to represent the wishes of all freedom-loving individuals, who are prepared to stake everything for the attainment of independence.

In its Session held at Londa in May last, the President of the National Congress, Goa, made a fervent appeal to launch a *Satyagraha* movement. At the meeting of the Working Committee held on the 20th August 1950 a resolution was passed to enlist *satyagrahis* for the impending struggle. And at the meeting of the All Goa Congress Committee held last week a resolution to launch a non-violent movement of *satyagraha* and to finalise the details of the forthcoming movement and the date of launching the movement to be announced before the 26th January 1951 was passed.

We therefore fervently appeal to all Goans and non-Goans who have the cause of Goa's independence at heart, to come forward at this decisive moment in our history to overthrow the alien fascist Government and to liberate our Motherland.

Let us forget our past quarrels ; let us close our ranks and with a firm determination to do or die let us give fight to the enemy who, we are sure, will then have no other alternative but to quit.

We have before us the shining example of our leaders who are now rotting in jails ; we are the inheritors of that glorious tradition of our ancestors who have given the evidence of their indomitable fighting spirit in that short-lived, unsuccessful but gallant attempt by the Ranes to oust the Portuguese. Independence is beckoning us. If we but waver at this decisive moment in the history of our Country, if we fail to avail of this historical opportunity we shall go down in history as the most miserable people ever lived.

Jai Hind !

NATIONAL CONGRESS GOA (BOMBAY BRANCH)

PUBLIC MEETING

Re-conquest of Goa

By the Portuguese Then !

By the Goans Now !

Once again the 25th of November comes to remind us that the task of freeing Goa from the shackles of Foreign Imperialism still remains unfulfilled.

For 440 years the Soul of Goa has lain in bondage. The time has now come to shake off the bonds of Foreign Domination. And the responsibility is OURS.

As the very word " RECONQUEST" proves, the people of Goa did drive out the Foreigners once. There have been several attempts during the long occupation, put down with savage measures.

Goa was suppressed but not the soul of its people. On this day, the 25th November, the people of Goa again take the Solemn Oath to free the Sacred soil of Goa. Those who are today rotting in Jails are constant reminders to all that to love Goa is yet a heinous offence.

Fellow Goans ! Rally forth to the call of the NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA) to free GOA. Our forefathers did it once before. Shall we fail those who sacrificed their lives in the several attempts made to liberate the place of our birth ?

" RECONQUER GOA FOR THE SONS OF GOA " that is the message of the National Congress (Goa) on this 25th day of November. Come and pledge your support for the sacred cause on this day 4-30 p.m. in the Blavatsky Hall, French Bridge. Messrs. Violet Alva, M.L.C. has kindly consented to preside.

JANARDAN SHINKRE,

FRANK ANDRADE,

Joint Hon. Secretaries.

Bombay, 21st November, 1950.

November 25th, 1950

"Reconquest of Goa Day"

Meeting of Goans at Cross Maidan (Dhobitalao) Saturday, 25th November 1950 at 4-30 p.m.

On 25th November 1510, Captain Albuquerque, with the help of the traitor Timoja, made a surprise appearance before the Port of Panjim and secured a foothold in Goa. That was a fateful day, a *black letter day* in the annals of Goa's history, which marked the beginning of our bondage. Today it is exactly 440 years, and such a prolonged and violent form of bondage will not find a parallel in the whole world.

Though the Portuguese gained power over Goa and her people, they never succeeded in crushing their spirit which has been able to keep the Goans battling with the Portuguese for their freedom. The following dates are milestones on the path of the Goan struggle for freedom : the defiant battle of the villages of Cuncolim, Velim and Assolna in 1852 ; [the gallant battle of the 25th November, 1510 ; the defiant battle of the villages

of Cuncolim, Velim and Assolna in 1852;] the Conspiracy of Pintos at Bardez in 1785 ; the battle of Valpoi in 1870 ; and the series of gallant revolts of the Ranes from 1852 till 1913.

In June 1946 our brave patriots like Dr. Tristao Branganza Cunha, Purshottam Kakodkar, Prof. Lakshmi Kant Bhembre, Dr. Ram Hegde, Evagrio Gorge and many others launched the latest phase of our struggle and kept the banner of freedom flying. But they fell under the ruthless blows of our age-old enemy and today they are suffering the rigours of jail and deportation. We shall not forget them !

Goans are today realizing that the question of Goa's freedom and its integration with India (on the basis of an Autonomous State) is not only a matter of dignity, principle and birthright, but also of vital and practical economic future for the Goans. That future in India, broadly speaking, means to us our bread, our jobs, our education, our prospects, and our democratic and free evolution.

In every aspect Goa's future is linked with India and we cannot hope to retain that link if Goans remain as subject people of Portugal. Our dubious and dual role of hoping to become the citizens of India and of Portugal at the same time must end, as a future built on such false foundations will be disastrous. Under no circumstances, therefore, can we afford to bate away our future in India, and that of our generations to come, for false promises of and slavish sentiments for Portugal.

Please, therefore, come in your thousands to the Cross Maidan on 25th November 1950, and join in our PLEDGE TO HASTEN THE GOAL OF OUR FREEDOM.

United front of Goans

National Congress (Goa)

To.

The Delegates of Nasik Session of

The Indian National Congress.

Gentlemen,

Goa the tiny Portuguese Possession in India today looks to the Indian National Congress for help in her hour of need. India became free three years ago, but the people of Goa still breath in the suffocating air of subjection to foreign power.

This little strip of land which the Prime Minister of India described as a pimple on the face of the country came under the heels of the Portuguese 440 years ago. A people groaning under repression and measures calculated to curb the spirit of freedom plead with the Congress that the problem of Goa should never be relegated to the background, but should be given the same importance as that given to Kashmir. Even a pimple may disfigure a face and must be incised.

In so pleading for the cause of the freedom of six hundred thousand inhabitants of Goa, we invite attention to the resolution passed by, the Indian National Congress in its 1942 Session, pledging its support to all people who were struggling for their independence, the assurance given by Mahatma Gandhi that the whole of India would unanimously support our cause, the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Indian

National Congress, at Wardha in 1946, and the resolution passed by the Jaipur Session of the Indian Congress in 1948. These were the sources of our inspiration and contributed a great deal to keep up the morale of our non-violent fighters who are locked up in an unequal struggle with the powerful Fascist Government. But to our great surprise we find that those who wield power now, are prone to temporize, and unwilling to face the realities. We are grieved at this attitude, all the more when we see the generous efforts of the Indian Government to help Indonesia attain her independence, to secure representation for China in UNO and to secure the release of the political prisoners in French India. Not that we belittle the importance of the issues involved in the facts mentioned above. but we do believe that the problem of Portuguese possessions has not received from the Government of India the attention it deserves.

It is our humble contention, that the problem of Goa should receive at least, as much attention from the Indian Government as does the problem of Kashmir. For we believe that in the swift changing international scene. Goa has an immense strategic importance, and we pray and hope that it may not prove to be the thin end of the wedge of the American Imperialism.

The issue before the Indian Government is clear and simple. Is Goa an integral part of India or not ? If it is not an integral part, the Indian Government should treat Goans as foreigners, and if it is an integral part, the Indian Government should call immediately a halt to all the anti-Indian propaganda that is going on in Goa and in India through the Government subsidized press, and the so-called Radio Goa, and should show by action their firm determination to see that Goa is liberated from Portuguese domination at any cost.

Moreover, the Indian Government's friendly negotiations with Portugal have not only failed but even met with an insolent reply, followed by statements by responsible Portuguese officials, which are nothing short of an affront. The following extract from a recent speech of the retiring Colonial Minister is an instance in point :—

" I shall begin with the very delicate aspect regarding our sovereignty over our territories in the East. The present situation though not unclouded, has however, been gradually improving. But we must keep in mind the most disconcerting alternatives which are the characteristic of the policies of the peoples of the East. "

It is sometimes argued that the problem of the independence of Goa is entirely a problem for Goans to solve. Had it not been advanced sometimes from responsible quarters, we would have ignored this argument completely. To any one who is at all conversant with the situation obtaining in Goa at present, the specious nature of the above argument will be perfectly clear and we do believe that it is only devised to screen the inactivity or unwillingness to share the responsibility in the matter.

We are aware of the main responsibility that rests on us. We have entered the struggle fully conscious of our responsibilities and with a firm determination to attain our goal. But it would be well also for the Indian people to realise the difficulties with which we are confronted. We have had to fight on two fronts (1) against elements not politically conscious in our own land and their sense for democratic freedom completely

benumbed by domination over a period of 440 years and (2) against a powerful fascist Government that would stoop to any barbarous measures to quell the spirit of freedom and completely suppress civil liberties.

The worst calamity that has befallen the Goans is the total suppression of their fundamental human rights for the last 28 years. This long, dark period has benumbed all our sense of human values, degrading us socially, morally, mentally and economically, to the level of mere brutes. There is no freedom of speech, freedom of association or press, every matter to be printed is made subject to a hard pre-censorship. Restrictions are daily increasing even on the workers in the educational and cultural fields, as is evident from the recently promulgated security act, which is a *Coup de Grace* to that infernal machinery of suppressive measures. Every Indian citizen on his entry in Goa is keenly watched and often harassed. The increasing White and Negro troops, brought to suppress the "civil liberties" movement, only deteriorate the economic conditions of Goa undermining the public morality and instilling fear into them. That this ugly situation which nowhere in the world is to be found should be tolerated in a small but strategically important part of free democratic India, is all the more undesirable as it is detrimental to the healthy growth of democracy in India and deserves, therefore, an immediate active attention from our brother Indians.

Before the advent of the Portuguese in Goa, Goa, the capital city, alone had a population of 6 lacs. But today the whole population of Goa, plus that of Daman and Diu is less than 6 lacs, for one-fifth of the total population of these territories have had to go abroad to earn their livelihood. It is these people who are mainly responsible for the maintenance of their relations in Goa and who share to a great extent the burden of the expenditure of our spendthrift Government.

The following figures are very revealing: Imports: Rs. 5,12,01,820. Exports : Rs. 1,00,67,618.

In the educational sphere, the harm that Portuguese Government has done is immense and irreparable. It has stifled all initiative, and has reduced the Goan youth to a state in which the only prospect before those, who cannot secure government jobs, is starvation. The fast increasing number of students who are receiving education in English Schools is a clear indication of the fact that people have realized now the utter futility of Portuguese education.

All its talented young men having gone abroad in search of their livelihood, Goa has become now a land of petty landowners, greedy profiteers and corrupt bureaucracy.

Add to this, an intensive propaganda campaign against everything Indian and for which the Portuguese Government is spending Rs. 30 lacs per year, an increased production and import of liquor, a rigorous censorship, immediate banning of any newspapers that may refer to the problem of Goa's independence, and you will have a fair idea of the tremendous difficulties the National Congress (Goa) has had to face when it launched its non-violent movement for independence on the 18th June 1946. It may be recalled here that more than 50 Indian papers have been banned entry in Goa.

As a result of this movement 22 Congress workers were sentenced from 4 to 29 years of imprisonment, and who are still rotting in jails of Aguada

(Goa), Reis Magos (Goa) and Peniche (Portugal); hundreds of *Satyagrahis* were mercilessly beaten and detained for months without trial ; many had to seek refuge in the Indian territory, certain as they were that they would be sentenced to many years of imprisonment ; and many are still underground.

The National Congress (Goa) has largely succeeded in creating a political consciousness among the Goan masses. It is a common front of all non-violent fighters whose chief aim is the ousting of the Portuguese from the Indian Soil.

The history of the Indian movement for independence has been a constant source of inspiration to us. And we are determined to free Goa by following the path of truth and non-violence as shown by the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi.

We, therefore, humbly beg to remind you of the past pledges of the Indian National Congress and implore your active support in our cause. If sometimes in the past we have given impression of shouting ourselves hoarse for immediate intervention of the Indian Government with a view to liberating Goa, it is because we realize the paramount importance of the time factor in our struggle. Portuguese Fascism is trying its utmost to perpetuate its hold on Indian Possessions. Any delay on the part of the Indian Government in solving the problem of Portuguese possessions. will only mean one more opportunity for the enemy to consolidate as position, and a bitter disappointment to all the Goans who are anxiously awaiting their hour of deliverance.

JAI HIND.

General Office,

Yours faithfully.

Belgaum,

V. N. LAWANDE,

18th September 1950.

General Secretary

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS
(GOA.) BOMBAY BRANCH

General Body Meeting

A General Body meeting of the members of the National Congress (Goa) Bombay Branch will be held on Sunday, 19th November 1950 at 4 p. m. at Forbes Hall (Opp. Jinnah Hall). Vithalbhai Patel Road.

AGENDA

- (1) To receive and adopt the report and statement of accounts of the Bombay Branch submitted by the Bombay Executive Committee.
- (2) To elect new delegates.
- (3) To transact any other business placed before the meeting by the executive committee.

Members desiring to nominate candidates for election of Delegates may please return the attached form duly filled in by the 15th November 1950. after which date no nominations will be considered.

If you propose to move any resolution the draft of the same must reach the Secretary at least three days before the General body meetings.

B. D. SATOSKAR,

President.

FRANK R. P. ANDRADE,

Secretary.

Bombay, 6th November 1950.

(Please produce this circular at the door for identification)

The Secretary,

Date

National Congress (Goa)

C/o. J. J. Sinkre,

9 Sita Chawl, New Badam Wadi,

Vithalbhai Patel Road, Bombay-4.

The Bombay Secret Abstract, dated 11th November 1950

Under the auspices of the National Congress, Goa a meeting (100) was held at Banda (Ratnagiri) on October 30, where at Shri V. N. Lawande, P. G. Jambavalikar and others urged the Indian Government to support the struggle of Goans for their freedom and appealed to people to give monetary help to the struggle. A leaflet giving in brief the history of the Goans struggle was read out in the meeting.

The Bombay Secret Abstract, dated 25th November 1950

Under the auspices of the National Congress, Goa two meetings (125-250) were held at Aronda and Satarda in Ratnagiri district on November 11 and 12. Shri V. N. Lawande, P. G. Jambavalikar and Nilkanth V. Naik stressed the fact that Goa was part of India, condemned the dictatorial methods of the Portuguese Government and urged the people to support the Goans' struggle for freedom.

Special Branch (1), C.I.D.,

Bombay 27th November 1950

Sir,

In observance of " 25th November " as ' Black Day ', a public meeting attended by about 200 persons, was held on 25th November 1950, at about 5 p.m. at Blavatsky Lodge, French Bridge, under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa), Bombay Branch. Shrimati Violet Alva presided.

The President Shri B. D. Satoskar, and Shri L. J. D'Souza made speeches.

Shri Satoskar surveying the historical incident of capture and reconquering of Goa by Albuquerque on 25th November 1510 observed that even the Portuguese historians had admitted that after the capture of Goa, the conquerors perpetrated atrocities- unknown in the history and practically massacred thousands of Muslims and at the point of sword proceeded further with their planned programme, of forced conversion of Hindus. He further referring to the attitude of Government of India towards liberating Goa from the clutches of Portuguese repressive, bureaucratic and fascist rule reminded the audience of views as expressed by Kakasaheb Kalekar some four years back that Goa was for all purposes and intentions the integral part of India and said that Indian Government was still doubtful about the future of Goa and aspirations of Goans. He pointed out that the political liberation of Goa had no bearing on international politics and

hence this question should be solved domestically. He asserted that on 25th November 1950 people of Goa should pledge themselves to free their motherland and prepare themselves to sacrifice everything and fight against all sufferings and hardships while launching their freedom struggle. He said that it was high time for Goans to get rid of their enslavement and all sorts of fears and make themselves worthy of living in the new humanity.

Shri D'Souza described at length as to how the Portuguese dictatorial rule had imperilled the mental, social and political development of Goans and even economically Goa had to depend predominantly on the subsidies from the Indian Government. He condemned the attempts of Portuguese to impose westernized habits on Goans and remarked that they had no grasp of cultural ties between India and Goa. He then stressed the necessity of ending the Portuguese alien rule of despotism, intolerance and racial inequality.

The president in her concluding speech hoped that the Goans having drawn inspiration from the various phases of war of independence and civil disobedience movements by Indians should march ahead with all militant forces and people with progressive views behind, to achieve their cherished goal of freedom of Goa. She also pointed out that women of Goa should also be on the forefront of their freedom movement.

The meeting terminated at about 6-30 p.m.

A public meeting of the City Goans was organised by the National Congress (Goa), Bombay Branch at the Blavatasky Lodge at 5 p.m. on Saturday, the 25th instant to protest against the "Reconquest Day" celebrated by the Portuguese Fascists in Goa.

The following were seated on the dais.

- (1)Dr. L. J. D'Souza [President of the National Congress (Goa), Bombay-Branch].
- (2)Mrs. Violet Alva, M.L.C. (Chairman of the meeting).
- (3)Shri Satoskar.

Dr. L. J. D'Souza introducing Mrs. Alva requested her to speak.

Mrs. Alva declined to comment at the outset on the grounds that she was not in touch with the latest political developments in Goa and requested the other two speakers to deliver their addresses and reserved her speech last.

Shri Satoskar speaking in Marathi traced the history of Portuguese occupation more than 400 years ago and discussed the importance of this " 25th November " when on this day in 1498 Goa became a vassal state. He stated that Goa was part and parcel of India and as such wanted it to become an integral part of the mother country. He asked every Goan to exert his pressure so that Government of India will be obliged to move in the matter quickly and to restore the independence of this tiny land of theirs.

Speaking in Konkani Dr. L. J. D'Souza explained the exploitation of the Portuguese-Indians by their foreign masters and stated that the policy followed and adopted by Portugal was responsible for the adverse trade balance for Goa to the extent of Rs. 4 crores a year.

Presidential Address by Mrs. Alva.

"Friends, most of you are from Goa and you have heard two of your old men speak to you this evening. Mr. Satoskar has given you in detail the historical survey of how serfdom overtook this beautiful spot in

India-Goa. Mr. D'Souza whom you heard with such rapt attention has this evening disturbed Salazar's dream and turned it into a nightmare. I wish Mr. D'Souza had done it in the real true Portuguese fashion, with a peg in his hand. Today on the 25th November and incited it is a day for the Goans all over to remember that history to go back to the centuries that first brought a strange rule in your homeland. But it is surprising to note that Goa, such a small pimple on the face of India, had been surcharged and overrun with revolutionaries and revolutionary movements. What a great record Goa makes when historically she stands side by side with her parent nation India. It is surprising and it is a matter of pride for every Goan to realise that ever since the year 1510. the Portuguese have never had a peaceful time. Your history is full of revolutions from decade to decade. The Portuguese prisons both in Goa and in Portugal and on the coasts of Africa and elsewhere have seen the sufferings of the great heroes whom Goa should worship. What Goans today want is unity. What they today want is a will and friends you will forgive me if I digress, that the subject this evening is so serious that I must mention not because I am a woman but it is that how do you expect to fight your national movement unless you bring your women shoulder to shoulder with you. I know that there are women leaders in Goa who have risked their lives. Women who have come out are not in enough numbers. You as Indians do realise that the Mahatma's secret of Civil Disobedience was one thing especially and that was, he brought women out from the darkness of the home and put them shoulder to shoulder with their men-folk and so India marched on from one movement to another, even though in this country gallows and all the sufferings of prisons were there when the movements were on and therefore I feel this evening that the movement to be complete, and the movement to give a final crushing blow to the Portuguese rule, should also be supported by your women and until that is done not one of you will feel the inspiration to go and fight in the right spirit and with determination that only a woman can infuse into you and as such you must tell your daughters, mothers and wives of the rich history that Goa possesses and what is happening today in Goa. It was three or four years ago when every Goan stated so confidently "Yes, if there is a plebiscite, Goa becomes free ". Today you feel that public opinion in Goa is swinging to the other extreme. I may be wrong but the opinion is current that today Goa is rather puzzled. Puzzled at what? At the story of independence! Here is an ancient land that shook away the foreign domination and is trying to stand on its own legs, what has happened? At the time when colonialism left India, there was a vacuum created. Because at the end of the second war there was economic crisis and that is why we are facing what we have had to go through. And if Goa is afraid to go through this crisis what will be said of her great heroes who sacrificed so much from 1510 from the time the Portuguese stepped into Goa. No. Goa can make its own history. You are not going to falter or faint at the little mistakes we make at the obstacles we have to face for where there is will you can build up your nation and perhaps as Mr. D'Souza says there is one section of the Goan public who is so sore at this programme of Prohibition, but then look at your drink habit. In Goa as everywhere else for the upper class it is a social gesture. It is a qualification. Whereas turn to the lower class, it becomes a vice. That is where Goa has gone. What industries Goa can boast of ? Nil; Goans come and tell us—In India you have no sugar, no rice, no cloth. Watches are cheap and everything is cheap in Goa. What is there in this country? But they fail to realise supposing Government of India takes it into its head and cancels

the past agreement that Portugal may have had with the British. Every Goan stepping out would need a passport. No money would go. Do you realise what then it would be to be a Goan. All and mainly agricultural but still in its medieval stage a land where there is not a single industry. What will be the fate of Goa if Government of India stiffens its attitude and tells Portugal that no Goans shall come out and no Goan shall go in who wants to stay in India. Then you will say now is the time whether we opt to the motherland or whether we opt with the Portuguese. We are now hearing Radio Goa. But what is the ulterior movement behind this Radio Goa. Portugal could have built up this Station decades ago. It is openly stated that America as the greatest power block of the World has sitting interest in Goa and which is safely entrenched in it. It is so concealed and not yet openly expressed. It is so concealed that even the American newspaper men themselves are trying to find out what their country is doing in Goa. I can tell you that an American newspaper reporter made enquiries in Bombay what the American interests are in Goa. From this Goans must realise not to be divided. They must awaken their womenfolk. Until the women of Goa come out and infuse their men to join together and make up their minds that even a little place like Goa can be so well-developed if left to itself. Let us not stand on a platform like this year after year for decades together merely drifting with few speeches in the evening and then all is over. Do not remit money to Goa. Let there be economic boycott just for three months. Let us see how Salazar carries on. It needs planning. It needs some one with the sprit of Mahatma to plan, face and fight ; if it need be we might go to gallows. I am glad that your great leader Braganza has been released and will be back in Goa. There is a complete understanding between the two communities, Hindus and Catholics. It is true though one community has taken the foreign culture. There is no harm in taking foreign culture. Culture does not belong to any people or race and friends I think I have said enough. I do not wish to take much of your time and I appeal to you Goans, those of you who are stout hearted here should go there and face it and come out and tell us the story. Jai Hind "

The meeting terminated at 6-30 after a vote of thanks to the Chair.

18th November 1950.

National Congress (Goa) Bulletin

Crop at Taleigao.—The immortal Governor spurted out a lengthy speech at Taleigao with a view to elucidating the political and economic problems of Goa. But on the former problem he thought it fit to remain silent and on the latter he had nothing to offer except a eulogy on the Parent State for the aid given to the Colonies during the economic crisis they have passed through.

So far as we are concerned, the aid with which the Parent State has come to our rescue in difficult times, the timely aid, for which no terms of praise could do sufficient justice, the kind aid in short, with which the Parent State has overwhelmed us has consisted so far, of tins of spoilt milk and a sufficient amount of rotten rice. And for this merchandise we had to pay 103 thousand Contos that is Rs. 14,714.285. The Governor has carefully avoided to mention the exact quality and quantity of the commodities concerned, their prices per unit, as well as the prices at

which they were sold to the public. The accounts of these transactions and the huge sums spent on various supply commissions are carefully hidden from the public. But we are shamelessly told in the same breath that the Government was able to make, out of the food-grains sold a net profit of Rs. 15,55,714. Public misery has been made an opportunity for the government to thrive on, whereas it was the duty of the Government to contribute liberally to lessen as much as possible the heavy weight of increasing cost of living, under which the common man was crushed to death. The sale of cloth also shows a net profit of Rs. 311,342. All these commodities were bought with Indian currency and for which the people had to pay in Portuguese currency acquired at the cost of exorbitant agio. Mr. B. D. Costa has already torn the mask off this whole profiteering business and has revealed in their true colours the unscrupulous people who have acted in this shady business as the agents of the Government.

The Governor has cleverly tried to pass off on us exploitation as favours. He has praised *Banco N. Ultramarino* which, as Prof. C. Fernandes has demonstrated, is the cause of our economic ruin. We learn also from his speech that unspecified but " huge sums " have been earmarked for Radio Stations of Goa, Daman and Diu.

The economy of Goa, if we exclude the contributions made towards it by the emigrants is solely based on (a) the black market in gold, that enters Goa from China, Arabia and America, (b) the exploitation of the Prohibition that is obtaining in some of the States of the Indian Union and the clandestine export of liquor to these States, (c) the extraction of minerals undertaken by Indian capital in Goa.

All this clearly shows that Goa is dependent on India for its means of living. However, appeal is being constantly made to the false sense of patriotism of some misguided fellows who style themselves as Portuguese in order to create in their minds a hatred of everything Indian. There is a regular campaign going on in Goa to prove to the Goans that Portugal alone can make for them an easy life possible and that India can never be able to afford them such conditions of life. While the truth is that if people in India are living in worse economic conditions than the people in Goa at present, it is solely due to the fact that all her resources, are being diverted towards the fulfilment of those gigantic plans devised to make her self-sufficient in three years, and to the disruption of her economy caused by the creation of Pakistan. The excessive cost of living in India is therefore temporary. While India is engaged making and executing plans of reconstruction that are sure to make her self-sufficient within a short time, people in Goa are being fooled systematically by false propaganda of the advantages that can be reaped only by consenting to remain as a part of the Portuguese Empire, the real source of all our ills and misfortunes and the bane of our Freedom.

JAI HIND.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), December 2, 1950.

National Congress (Goa)

A public meeting under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa) was held at the Blavatsky Lodge, French Bridge, Bombay, on November 25, 1950, when Shrimati Violet Alva presided and about 200 persons attended. Smt. Alva, Sjts. B. D. Satoskar and L. J. D'Souza explained the significance of the day and appealed to the Goans to muster their strength to liberate Goa from the Portuguese yoke.

National Standard, dated 5th December 1950.
Oppression in Goa

Sir,

In your issue of November 29, while commenting on "Goa's success," you suggest that the "Goan Nationalists should desist from exaggerated stories of oppression in Goa, for no atmosphere of oppression is felt by Indian visitors." Immediately thereafter you remark that "It is not prohibition that is the most important new feature of the situation." Smuggling of gold and other goods is said to be going on on a very big scale".

If not from other facts that could be expatiated on at least from your cited remark alone it is self-evident why "no atmosphere of oppression is felt by Indian visitors, who are not Goan nationalists agitating for political emancipation of Goa, but mere visitors engaged in pursuits which are not only not resented but are on the contrary, encouraged by the Portuguese Government either for reasons of propaganda or economic considerations."

It is thus that an Indian visitor who is not even a mere spectator, since he is deeply engrossed in other matters during his brief sojourn cannot feel any oppression. But once he makes a common cause with the Goan nationalists he will know for himself what type of atmosphere obtains in Goa.

But apart from this, I fail to understand how it can be said that there is no oppression in a country where the elementary rights of freedom of expression and association can not even be demanded, let alone the fact that it is conspicuous by its absence.

A DA COSTA,

Bombay, November 29.

Bombay Secret Abstract, dated 9th December 1950

A public meeting (200) was held, under the auspices of the Goa National Congress, in Bombay on November 25 where Smt. Violet Alva, Shri B. D. Satoskar and others explained the significance of the day and appealed to the Goans to muster their strength to liberate their country from the Portuguese yoke. A similar meeting (400) was held on the day under the auspices of the United Front of Goans where resolutions were adopted (1) requesting the Indian Government to intervene and bring pressure on the Portuguese Government to quit India and (2) demanding immediate release of political prisoners.

Interception Report

Dead Friends,

Belgaum 2nd January 1951.

The fourth meeting of the working committee of the National Congress, Goa, is scheduled to be held at Belgaum, in its central office, on Saturday, the 20th January, 1951, at 10-00 a.m. sharp, to transact the following business.

1. To consider the report submitted by the Satyagraha Committee, appointed by the All Goa Congress Committee, in its meeting of 8th October 1950.

2. Financial problem.
3. Any other subject that may come forth with the due consent of the president.

You are cordially invited to attend this meeting and lend your valuable advice.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours truly,

(Signed) General Secretary.

Shri Peter Alvares, Central Office,
Socialist Party, National House,
Apollo Bunder, Bombay-1.

Secret.

Copy forwarded with compliment to Shri G. S. Chaubal, Assistant to Deputy Inspector General of Police, C. I. D., I. B. Bombay State, Gamadia House, Bombay, for information.

Superintendent,
for Deputy Commissioner of Police,
Special Branch, C. I. D., Bombay.

Interception Report.

Dear Friends,

Camp Belgaum, 3rd January, 1951.

An Extra-ordinary meeting of the working committee of the National Congress, Goa, is scheduled to be held at Bombay on Sunday, the 4th of February 1951, at 3-00 p.m. in the house of Shri S. G. Lad, Jagmohan mansion, New Bhatwadi Street, Girgaum to discuss the following agenda.

1. To consider the report of the Sub-Committee, appointed by the working committee, in its last meeting, to have talks with Shri P. M. Lad on the organisational matters.
2. Any other subject with the consent of the President.

You are cordially invited to attend the meeting and lend your valuable advice.

Yours truly,

V. N. LAWANDE.

Shri Peter Alvares, Central Office,
Socialist Party of India, National
House 6, Tulloch Road,
Bombay-1.

The National Congress (Goa), Bombay Branch

25th February 1951

A freedom struggle movement for the liberation of an enslaved people needs no apology for its existence, and that is why *Goan Affairs*, the bulletin issued by the Bombay Committee of the National Congress (Goa) should need no introduction.

But not the least of the impediments in our struggle to free Goa. Daman and Diu for the suffering stronghold of Portuguese rule is the abysmal ignorance of political and socio-economic conditions in Goa. This ignorance is excusable among the people of India who are not Goans, but not so among the Goans who are residing outside Goa. This ignorance

has been responsible for many wrong notions about Goa's "economic prosperity" Portuguese "political tolerance" and "progressive social conditions.". However much we may regret them, these wrong notions do exist. The ignorance of actual conditions is a challenge to our movement.

The Bombay Committee has taken up this challenge through *Goan Affairs*. Through this bulletin the Committee will systematically expose the myths of "tolerance" and "prosperity" that obtain in Goa. For we believe that when the Goans are educated into the true state of affairs in Goa the liberation movement will claim many new adherents and the task of freeing Goa from the Portuguese will be expedited.

The freedom movement is itself an invigorating experience, lifting one from indifference to enthusiasm. We shall attempt to pass on the great sense of mission and of actual endeavour to our readers so that the pride of the fighters for freedom may be theirs also.

Goa's Parasite Economy the People who support Goa's Economy

Whether an economy is solvent or not is determined by certain criteria, one of which is whether circumstances of that area (Goa) allow a maximum number of adult people to find gainful employment, achieve an increased standard of living and provide scope for the full development of their personalities. It is to examine whether this achievement is present in the economic circumstances of Goa, that we shall devote ourselves in the article.

The territory of Portuguese India-Goa, Daman and Diu has an area of 1312 square miles and a population of approximately 6,61,222; of this number more than 1,50,000 are outside Goa, mainly in India and a few in Africa. In Bombay alone there are over 1,00,000. The Goans in Bombay are a very versatile community. There are hundreds of Doctors, compounders and nurses. Likewise, there are a great number of lawyers, some of whom hold positions of great responsibility in this profession. The clerical profession was at one time their monopoly, and yet even now Goans, both men and women, are engaged in it in thousands.

Among the ranks of labour everywhere and in every industry Goans are found in a considerable number, in the engineering, railway, chemical, docks and other industries. The entire saloon and dock crew of the ships in Bombay are composed of Goan seamen, and there is such a congestion in this avenue of employment that in order to give everyone a share of the total work a system of shifts is introduced, each shift engaging thousands of workers. The number of domestic servants, also an honourable employment, is not assessable but it must run into thousands comprising both men and women.

The scientific, literary and educational services have also their share of Goans, and many schools and colleges can boast of eminent Goan in Bombay newspapers.

In the sphere of art and culture Goan Professors and Educationalists are occupying positions of honour and have contributed to the building up of Bombay, and while estimating the number of Goans of all walks of life in Bombay and in the other cities of India one must also consider the high standard of life that they have achieved on a par with other citizens of India.

Now let us consider why all Goans who are doctors, nurses or compounders, professors or teachers, labourers, seamen or domestic servants, all of whom comprise our 1,50,000 are in Bombay and other

cities of India and not in Goa. Is it because conditions are better in Goa than in Bombay or because Goa's economy is not able to support them and allow them to grow in social or political status. The answer is obviously clear. It is both because Goa's economy is not able to support the families of the Goans outside Goa and also because conditions here are definitely better than in Goa. If this were not true then how is it that inspite of severe unemployment among Goans in Bombay, they do not go back to Goa to earn a livelihood ? It is for the simple reason that there are no avenues of employment in Goa. It is so obvious that it need not be restated. Are then there more opportunities outside Goa than therein? This is certainly so. The standard of living and culture of an average Goan outside Goa is far higher than what it is in Goa.

All these Goans outside Goa not only find fulfilment and security but help to support the parasite economy of Goa. It is because of their sacrifices and earnings that the economy of Goa is able to drag on. Goa and Goans need India for their future. The place of Goa and Goans is rightly in India, for it is only in it that Goans can prosper and find fulfilment.

Matters of the Moment

Foreign Settlements in India

*National Congress (Goa) Proposes Conference of
Pro-Merger Bodies.*

The National Congress (Goa) has convened a conference of all pro-merger organisations in the foreign settlements in India to co-ordinate their policies, pool their resources and present a united front to the Portuguese and French Governments in India. The conference will be held some time in May this year. The venue will be either Bombay or Madras.

The suggestion for a joint conference was enthusiastically received by all the pro-merger bodies. A high-power co-ordinating body is expected to be set up at this conference. It is agreed that each organisation will retain to itself the freedom to adopt such measures in its own area of functioning as it considers suitable.

The co-ordinating committee, when formed will, it is expected, set a high tone to the work of the constituent organisations.

Goa and the Atlantic Defence Pact

The position that Goa, Daman and Diu will occupy in the Atlantic-Defence arrangements headed by Gen. Eisenhower is the subject of much speculation and fear.

Portugal is a member of the Defence Pact. Are her colonies and possessions to be included in the defence arrangements which she has consented to participate in? The war of the future will be a global war, and under such circumstances it is inevitable that any commitment that Portugal may enter into with other Atlantic Nations will affect the position of Goa also. If Goa is drawn in, the position of India's neutrality will be jeopardised for Goa will be a war zone. This contingency applies to the possessions in India of the French also because France is a member of the Atlantic Pact.

Goans must demand a clarification of the position and ask for complete neutrality and independence from commitments of Portugal. India must not be made a war base through the possessions of the Portuguese and the French.

Savage Sentence Confirmed

A news item from Pondicherry states that the Paris Court of appeal has confirmed the sentences passed by the Mahe Court on the nine accused who were charged in connection with the famous " Mahe Rebellion Case."

It may be recalled that the accused who were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment in connection with the case had filed appeals before the Paris Court.

It is indeed an irony of fate that in the Sovereign Republic of ours the fate of some of her sons should have been decided by a people thousands of miles away. Are not these savage sentences passed on the nine Indians in Mahe and on our revered leaders like Dr. Tristao de-Cunha and Dr. Ram Hegde in Goa, an open challenge to India's claim to be a sovereign nation ?

Amnesty Reports Refuted :

In a statement published in the *Free Press Journal* of February 7, Mr. Visvanath Lawande, General Secretary of the National Congress (Goa), has contradicted the reports about the amnesty supposed to have been granted by the Portuguese Government to the Goan political prisoners in Goa and Peniche.

Out of all the prisoners sentenced to different terms of imprisonment, Mr. Evagrio George is the only person released so far; while the rest have been refused repatriation on the plea that " their presence is not desirable in Goa."

A foreign power again to decide the desirability or otherwise of the presence of Goans in their motherland. The Portuguese imperialists have reason to be proud of their success in quelling the people's movement in Goa with their relative superiority of strength. But they should know, as Dr. Inge said, that in imperialism nothing fails like success!

Congress Working Committee in the City

Almost all the members of the Central Committee of the Congress paid a brief visit to the city in the first week of this month. They were acquainted with the activities of the local body.

At its meeting held here on the 5th and 8th the Working Committee unanimously passed the following resolutions :—

Resolution No. 1.—The Working Committee learns with concern and regret that some elements with hostile intent towards it, and others through misunderstanding, are spreading false reports that the National Congress (Goa) is laying more emphasis upon the method of the future Status of Goa than upon its primary objective, the emancipation of Goa.

The Working Committee, therefore, desires to restate its policy in this respect. The only objective of the National Congress (Goa) is to free Goa from the Portuguese and to secure for it an honourable place in the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India. To achieve this objective the Congress will do its utmost.

To attain this objective, it therefore, earnestly appeals to its members not to precipitate matters by raising controversial issues such as " Sanyukta Maharashtra, Maritime Province, Autonomous State, Goa for Goans etc." which pale into insignificance before the all important problem of emancipation of Goa.

Resolution No. 2.—The Working Committee once again desires to state that the National Congress (Goa) is not a one Party Organisation but a militant front of all those who desire to work for Goa's freedom. It,

therefore, calls upon all Goans, wherever they may be, of whatever calling in life or political persuasion, to rally round the banner of the National Congress (Goa), the only Organisation working chiefly in Goa, with a firm determination to liberate it from the yoke of foreign rule.

Resolution No. 3.—Since a large number of Goans outside Goa is in Bombay and since the freedom movement can be carried on there without let or hindrance, the Working Committee calls upon the Goans in Bombay to strive to make it the focus of the campaign for Goa's freedom.

The members were given a public reception by the Bombay Branch of the Congress at the Forbes Gujerati Hall on the 8th. A large and distinguished gathering was present. Mr. L. J. D'Souza, President of the Bombay Committee was in the Chair.

Speaking on the occasion Mrs. Bertha Furtado, Vice-President of the Congress, Mr. Vishwanath Lawande, General Secretary and Dr. P. G. Jambawlikar, President of the Beleum branch, appealed to the Goans in Bombay to help the Organisation in various ways to achieve the objective it had kept before it, namely, the liberation of Goa. The speakers also requested the Government of India to solve the problem of Goa without any further delay.

Bombay Congress Organises Mass Educative Meetings

With a view to educating the Goan masses in the city on the social, economic and political conditions in Goa, the Bombay branch has proposed to organise mass meetings in the different localities of the city inhabited prominently by Goans. The first meeting of this kind will be held at the I.L.I. Hall, Thakurdwar on February 25, when workers of the Congress including Mr. Peter Alvares, Mr. J. V. Kamat and Mr. J. L D'Souza will speak.

Task before Goan Women

The people's movement which was started in Goa four years back, though failed to achieve its immediate objective, has to its credit the indisputable fact that gave to Goa a fine specimen of Indian womanhood. The entire country was surprised to hear about even teen aged girls of Goa who bravely faced the brutal wave of repression of the Portuguese rulers. It must be said to the credit of our otherwise meek and mild sisters that they never lagged behind their fellow countrymen in the hour of their country's need.

Today when a silence of tomb prevails in Goa and when the hot-bed of fighters has been turned into a valley of despondency and frustration by the relative superiority of force of the powers that be, it is no wonder that the activities of the Goan women have receded into background. There is no doubt whatsoever that the courage and determination which were exhibited by our sisters in the past, though in a dormant state at present will be a major contribution to our freedom movement in the near future.

To our utter surprise we see a strange contrast in the attitude adopted by Goan womenfolk outside Goa towards the freedom movement in that part. They seem to be mere passive spectators of the scene which is being enacted there. The majority of educated Goan women in a city like Bombay for example, who can help towards the building up of the people's organisation seem somehow reluctant to come forward to render the help.

Presiding over a protest meeting of Goans in the City on 25th November last year Mrs. Violet Alva, M.L.C. had very harsh things to say to the Goan Women in Bombay. On a day when Goans had gathered to protest against the greatest humiliation inflicted by a foreign power on their nation it was really unfortunate that, with notable exceptions, the Goan womenfolk did not feel it necessary to participate in the meeting.

Let our sisters in Bombay and elsewhere think seriously of the task which is ahead of them. We have full faith in them. They shall not fail the country.

An Appeal To Goans

Comrades,

The National Congress is Your Organisation. We want Goans from every section to swell its ranks. We want maximum possible help from You to build up the only organisation representing the people of Goa. Why not get in touch with its office ? Its address is 9, Sita Chawl, New Badamwadi, Vithalbhai Patel Road, Girgaum, Bombay.

Below T. R. No. 117 dated 22nd February 1951

Sir,

Submitted.

An extra-ordinary meeting of the members of the working committee of the National Congress (Goa) was held on 4th February 1951 at 3 p.m. at the residence of Shri Shamrao G. Lad, a worker of the Goa Liberation movement. About 25 members attended. The meeting was not open to outsiders. Shri Peter Alvares, V. N. Lawande, D'Silva, J. V. Kamat, B. D. Satoskar and other workers discussed the organisational matters and the future of the struggle. They decided to hold an open session on May 19th and 20th at Bombay.

As Shri Lad is not keeping good health the meeting postponed the issue of approaching Shri Lad for advice in respect of future action to a distant date. Shri D'Silva was in the chair on the occasion. This may be noted.

Submitted for information.

Sd/-

Inspector of Police,

H. Branch, C.I.D.

Bombay.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), dated 2nd March 1951

Under the auspices of the National Congress Goa, a public meeting was held at the Indo-Lucitano Institute Hall, Burrows Lane, on February 25 to acquaint the Goans of the present situation in Goa. Shri L. J. D'Souza presided and about 250 persons attended.

Principal L. N. Welinkar, speaking in English stated that there were sufficient resources in Goa which, if properly harnessed would make Goa a prosperous country. Without committing himself to any political ideology he said that it was the duty of the Government to raise Goa to its full economic status.

Shri Peter Alvares, speaking in English, said that outwardly Goa appeared to be comparatively happy as far as the food situation is, concerned and referred to propaganda made by the Portuguese Government in this direction. He quoted statistics to show that in reality the problem of economics in Goa was solved by huge foreign imports against an adverse balance of trade.

Shri J. V. Kamat, speaking in Konkani, said that the argument of Salazar that Goa was a part and parcel of Portugal and that Goans were Portuguese had no force. Goans were essentially Indians as Goa formed a part of India and the earlier Goa merged with India the better it was for the people of Goa.

Free Press Journal, dated 8th February 1951

Goa Political Detenus

Amnesty Reports Refuted

Bombay Wednesday.

In a statement to the press Mr. Vishvanath Lawande, General Secretary of the National Congress (Goa) has contradicted the reports about the amnesty supposed to have been granted by the Portuguese Government to the Goan political prisoners in Goa and Peniche Island.

According to Mr. Lawande, out of all the prisoners sentenced to different terms of imprisonment, Mr. Evagrio George is the only person released so far ; while the rest have been refused repatriation on the plea that " their presence is not desirable in Goa ". In the case of Mr. Tristao Braganza de Cunha, the Secretary adds, even when amnesty was granted to him by the Military Court in Goa on October 28, 1950 no communication was sent to the authorities at the Peniche Island till five weeks later in regard to his release. The Congress leader still continues to be under detention in Portugal.

Bombay City Special Branch (I), February 9.

The National Congress Goa held a public meeting of about 70 persons at Forbes Gujarati Hall, V. P. Road, on February 8, 1951. Shri Louis J. D'Souza presided.

Shrimati Bertha Menezes Braganza (Vice-President) said that the Goans must unite and organise themselves to fight for the freedom of Goa.

Shri V. N. Lawande reminded the Goans that the Portuguese Government are increasing forces in Goa from 1946 movement, and urged the Indian Government to bring immediate pressure on them as it would be a danger to India, as long as there are foreign pockets in India.

Dr. P. C. Jambavlikar (President) narrated the history of Goans' struggle for freedom and said that it is the duty of every Goan as well as Indian to free 22 prisoners who are suffering imprisonment under the Portuguese Rule. He also referred to a speech delivered by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru that Goa was a part of India. The President requested the Goans to unite in order to achieve freedom.

The Bombay Secret Abstract dated 14th February 1951.

Addressing a meeting (70) held in Bombay on February 8 by the National Congress (Goa), Sarvashri V. N. Lawande and P. G. Jambawlikar referred to the Goans struggle for freedom declared that Goa was a part of India and urged Goans to unite in order to achieve freedom. Shri Lawande,

saying that the Portuguese were reinforcing their garrison in Goa, urged the India Government to take immediate steps in the matter to avert the danger of foreign pockets in India.

A black-flag demonstration was also staged at the Indo-Portuguese Institute Hall in Bombay on February 9 by the members of the United Front of Goans.

Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

Bombay 24th February 1951

The Bombay Secret Abstract dated 10th March 1951.

The National Congress, Goa, held a meeting (250) in Bombay on February 27, whereat Sarvashri Peter Alvares and J. V. Kamat spoke in support of liberating Goa from Portuguese hands.

Free Press Journal, dated 24th March 1951

Goan Conference

A joint conference of the pro-merger bodies of foreign settlements in India will be held in Bombay under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa) in May, 1951 it was learned today.

The annual conference of the National Congress (Goa) also is scheduled to be held here at the same time.

Mr. Frank R. P. Andrades, Joint Secretary of the Congress, in a statement today said that the election of delegates from Bombay branch to the annual conference will be held on Sunday, April 8, at the Forbes Gujarati Hall. Girgaum.

The Goa Congress has arranged a public reception in honour of Dr. B. V. Keskar, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Government of India at the Blavatsky Lodge, tomorrow.

Reception to Dr. B. V. Kesarkar

24th March. 1951

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa), a public reception was accorded to the Hon'ble Dr. B. V. Keskar, Deputy Minister, External Affairs, Government of India at the Blavatsky Lodge, Bombay, on March 24, 1951. Shri L. J. D'Souza presided and about 300 persons, mostly Goans attended. A programme of vocal and instrumental music was held to entertain the guest.

President Shri L. J. D'Souza introduced the Hon'ble Dr. Keskar to the audience and requested him to speak on the future of Goa as a spokesman of the Union Government. Dr. Keskar said that Goa was an integral part of India economically, geographically and culturally. He advised the Goans to unite and decide themselves their future. Government of India does not wish to take any action at this stage due to international situation. However he wished that Goans would always co-operate with the Indian Government and think that India was their motherland.

S. I. of Police.

S. B. I., C.I.D., Bombay.

National Congress (Goa) 3rd Annual Session

Nehru's Statement on Goa Welcomed

Mr. S. B. D'Silva, former President of the National Congress of Goa. welcomed the announcement of the Prime Minister in Parliament assuring the people of Goa " the opportunity to live their own life. "

Mr. D'Silva said that Mr. Nehru's assurance had " laid the dust of controversy in which Premier Salazar did not fail to join when he told Goans that Goa is *estado* state under Portugal, if she joins India she will be an unimportant district."

Mr. Nehru's assurance also accorded well with the objectives of the National Congress of Goa, he added.

Free Press Journal, dated 6th April 1951

Goa's Future

The statement issued to the Press by Mr. S. B. D'Silva, former President of the National Congress of Goa, on the Prime Minister's announcement with regard to the future of foreign pockets in India, is a political challenge of the highest order. For it is difficult to understand what Mr. D'Silva is trying to say. The Prime Minister declares " India wanted to give the people of these foreign pockets the opportunity to live their own life, to have autonomy to decide their internal fate, if I may say so. We do not wish to interfere with them." But Mr. D'Silva has welcomed only the opportunity to live their own life, which part of the statement torn off the rest of the text, means practically little or nothing. Mr. D'Silva also said that Mr. Nehru's assurance also accorded well with the objectives of the National Congress of Goa. This is surprising. Only a few days ago, Mr. D'Silva had stated on behalf of the National Congress of Goa that, that organisation beyond desiring to free Goa from foreign domination, was not committed to any plan or programme as regards the future administration of Goa. What then will be Goa's future status ? Both Mr. D'Silva and the National Congress of Goa are silent about it. Under these circumstances, how Mr. Nehru's statement, which guarantees autonomy to Goa, could have accorded well with the objectives of the National Congress of Goa, which by tacit inference is opposed to that status, is beyond comprehension. In this connection, it will be recalled that the United Front of Goans is the only organisation which has declared its aim to be an autonomous Goa within the Republic of India.

Cristovam Furtado.
S. B. (I)., C.I.D.

Interception Report

13th October 1950

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of the text of the resolutions adopted at the meeting of the all Goa Congress Committee which met in the central office of Belgaum on 7th and 8th October 1950. For your kind information on 9th October workers meeting was held where-in details of the *Satyagraha* programme and various other issues were discussed.

Thanking you,

Yours truly,
(Signed) V. N. LAWANDE,
General Secretary,
National Congress, Goa.

To,

The General Secretary,
Socialist Party of India,
Central Office, 6, Tulloch Road,
Apollo Bunder, Bombay.

National Congress (Goa)

Since the withdrawal of British and the proclamation of India as a Sovereign Democratic Republic, the urge for freedom of Goa, Daman and Diu from the Fascist rule of Portugal and the natural desire of the people to join the mother country from which they have been unfortunately separated hitherto, has increased and become irresistible.

This meeting of the A.G.C.C., therefore, is of the opinion that immediate preparations be made for a *satyagraha* campaign for the liberation of these tiny territories.

The A.G.C.C. firmly believes that the issue of Foreign pockets is as much the concern of the Indian people as a whole as it is of the inhabitants of those territories. This meeting therefore calls upon the people of Daman, Diu and Goa, in particular and our fellow Indians, in General to join the final Non-violent struggle against alien Imperialism.

For this purpose, the A.G.C.C. further appoints a Committee of three men to prepare the plan of action and announce the date for starting *satyagraha* on or before 26th January 1951.

National Congress (Goa)

Text of the Resolutions adopted at the meeting of the A.G.C.C. held on 7th and 8th October 1950.

Resolution I.—Since the withdrawal of British and the proclamation of India as a Sovereign Democratic Republic the urge for freedom of Goa, Daman and Diu from the Fascist rule of the Portugal and the National desire of the people to join the mother country from which they have been unfortunately separated hitherto has increased and become irresistible.

This meeting of the A.G.C.C. therefore, is of the opinion that immediate preparations be made for a *Satyagraha* Campaign for the liberation of these tiny territories.

The A.G.C.C. firmly believes that the issue of Foreign pockets is as much the concern of the Indian people as a whole as it is of the inhabitants of these territories. This meeting therefore calls upon the people of Daman, Diu and Goa, in particular, and fellow Indians in general to join Non-violent struggle against Imperialism.

For this purpose, the A.G.C.C. further appoints a Committee of three men to prepare the plan of action and announce the date for starting *Satyagraha* on or before 26th January 1951.

Resolution II.—In views of the changed circumstances since the last Londa Session and in view of financial stringency this meeting of the A.G.C.C. considers that an Extraordinary session scheduled to be held in Bombay is neither desirable nor expedient.

Resolution III.—This meeting of the A.G.C.C. reiterates the resolution adopted by the working committee on 23rd July 1950, in respect of a joint Conference of the representatives of the political organisations in the French Possessions in India and of the representatives of the National Congress (Goa).

Resolution IV.—The meeting of the A.G.C.C. hereby resolves that fresh elections for the purpose of electing delegates and new office bearers be held in Bombay branch where certain irregularities in the last election have been recorded in the report submitted in the working committee by Syt. Madhav Bir. It therefore directs the working committee to call for fresh elections in said branch.

This meeting further directs the working committee to order elections to be held at the newly formed Resolution at Poona, Castle Rock and Karwar.

Resolution V. As the account for the year 1949-50 submitted to the W.C. appear to be incomplete this meeting of the A.G.C.C. directs to the W.C. to approach Dr. Telu Mascerenhas the Ex-treasurer, requesting him to submit fuller account and these certified by him as correct be approved and the dues, if any be refunded at the earliest convenience.

(Signed) V. N. LAWANDE,
General Secretary.

The Times of India, dated 18th May 1951

GOA CONGRESS SESSION

The third annual session of the National Congress, Goa, will be inaugurated in Bombay on May 19 by Dr. N. V. Rajkumar, Foreign Secretary, Indian National Congress, Mr. S. K. Patil, Mayor of Bombay, will inaugurate a joint conference of the pro-merger parties in the French settlements in India and the National Congress (Goa) on May 20.

National Congress (Goa) 3rd Annual Session, Bombay.

Speech of Dr. Kashinath L. Sanzgiri, President of the 3rd Annual Session.

Dr. Rajkumar, my fellow delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me thank you all at the outset for the confidence you have shown in me by electing me to the presidentship of the Congress for the second time. When I recall to my mind the short but glorious period of our freedom struggle irradiated by acts of indomitable courage and determination on the part of persons like Dr. R. K. Hegde, Shri P. P. Shirodkar and Dr. V. N. Mayenkar, my illustrious predecessors in this office and others, I realize, fully conscious as I am, of my scant abilities and short comings, what a heavy responsibility you have laid in me by re-electing me to this high Office. But I am sure, in re-electing me, you had only the intention of showing your sense of appreciation of the gallant resistance put up by brethren in Goa, against that immense infernal machine of Portuguese dictatorship that is trying to grind them to dust. As a humble villager. I cannot pretend to bring to the execution of my duties neither the deep learning, nor a fund of experience of previous parliamentary activities that might be reasonably expected from the holder of such an office. I crave therefore your indulgence for any mistake may I commit inadvertently or through ignorance in the discharge of my duties. But, I assure you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that no sacrifice will be deemed greater by me to achieve our cherished goal. And I am sure, with your active co-operation and sympathies we are bound to succeed in the end.

2. It is a great pleasure to me to be in your midst in this *Urbs Prima of India*. Bombay has been for years together the main emigration centre of the Goans. One fifth of the total population earn their livings in the City. I did not dilate here off the historical ties that once bound us together nor need I stress the scope and facilities provided by this City to many countrymen of mine to develop their talents and display their abilities. It is to you, dear residents of this Great City, that we have looked up whenever we found ourselves in need of help and consolation. Often, I find myself imagining what would have been the fate of that tiny territory we come from, had "Clio" been pleased to include this territory in

that transfer of supremacy over a marshing island from the Portuguese to the English which made of that marshing island the great City of Bombay that it is now. And a vision of prosperity and happiness arises before my mind's eye. I see all the natural resources, the Dudh-Sagar falls, the natural Harbour of Marmagoa, mountains rich in mineral deposits, all harnessed to develop industries and to increase the prosperity of the Country. But alas! That was not to be. On the contrary it seems as if fate had selected the crucible of Goa to carry out its wicked experiment of testing human endurance by subjecting it to increasing pressure of foreign domination for a period of four and half centuries. But the fresh and invigorating air that now comes from the Independent India has revived our hope and courage. This is the moment, friends, when we should make the last and supreme effort to overthrow the yoke under which we are groaning for the last four and half centuries. A slight slackening in our efforts, a short respite in our struggle, will mean a new lease of life to our enemy who is digging and consolidating his positions on the entire front. I have no doubt that ultimately we shall be the victors. But remember, we have to fight on two fronts simultaneously. We have to fight against our arch enemy the Portuguese rule as well as against the internal enemy, I mean the moral degradation, the utter lack of sense of dignity and of solidarity, which is the heritage of four and half centuries of Portuguese rule in Goa, and which, I am afraid, has lately gathering such a speed dragging us down to the brink of the precipice, that unless we check it immediately, utter ruin is imminent and certain. It is high time now that we take stock of our position and plan our strategy in accordance with the means at our disposal, and to this task I shall proceed presently.

3. Since the time Portuguese conquered Goa, systematic denationalisation of its population has been their constant policy. To achieve this sinister aim of their they started a successful campaign against everything that represented the genuine culture of the people, and in its stead they tried and succeeded in making the people ape the pseudo-culture of their rulers by systematic elimination from the various curricula in Schools and Colleges course of study of any topic that might remind us of our glorious past, by making Portuguese and not the vernacular the language through which primary education was to be imparted, by systematic destruction of books in vernacular and other similar devices. The culminating result of these was the generation to which we all belong. A generation of young men and women with blinkered minds, who know every petty details of Court intrigues of Kings and Queens of Portugal, who could recite stanzas from " Od Lusiadas " but to whom, epics like *Maha Bharat* and *Ramayan* and the historical figures of Ashok, Chandragupta or Budha were anathemas. It is no wonder, therefore, if in a society in which official status and wealth were the only values to judge the people by young men of talent sought to better their fortunes in bureaucracy Even in this dark period of Portuguese rule there were certain gallant but abortive attempts to drive away the Portuguese. There was even, after the declaration of the Portuguese Republic in 1910, a short spell of breezy activity, when people showed signs of being aware of their humanity and of their inherent rights. But since the time Salazar came to power, Goa has been passing through the dark period of its history. I need not dilate here on all the things that come in the wake of the dictatorship. But if I feel like mentioning again the facts otherwise well known to you of muzzled or bribed press, of corruption rampant everywhere of unscrupulous activities of greed merchants and black marketeers it is only to bring home to you

the state of moral degradation we have been reduced to by Salazar's dictatorship.

4. In the economic sphere the prospect is equally dark and depressing. Imports mainly of foreign luxury goods are five times greater than the exports. The anti-national tariff policy of the Portuguese Government has much contributed to our economic ruin. The following figures of imports and exports are revealing. In the year 1929, 72.45 per cent of our total imports were from India. In 1948 this percentage has been reduced to mere 26.20 per cent. For the same years the figures of exports to India are 95.50 per cent. and 54.68 per cent. respectively. Now a days Goa has been a reservoir not only gold and wine but of other foreign goods like scents, chocolates, watches and luxury goods, which are smuggled into India. In these nefarious activities many Indian Capitalists are aided and abetted by Portuguese Officers. Thousands of people are engaged in this smuggling racket which is a fair way to be regarded as a respect able way of earning one's living. It is unfortunate that many of our peasants otherwise law abiding and of sterling moral qualities have succumbed to the temptation of getting rich quickly. Add to this the drinking evil that slacks the country, which besides being a heavy drain on its resources, has earned to it the unique distinction of being the greatest consumer of liquor in the world. The prohibition policy of certain Indian States has given a fillip to the tourist traffic in Goa. As a consequence of this there is an immense increase in the number of restaurants, bars and hotels who vie with each other in catering for the tastes of rich Indian folk who with their minds befuddled with drink are seen frequently indulging in violent incentive against India Government and being full of praise for the so called benevolent administration of the Portuguese Government. It is a common sight now to see the sign board of an up-to-date Bar in the precincts of certain famous temples in Goa, which had so far remained undefiled.

5. Realizing that their departure is imminent and certain many a Portuguese Officers has been busy now days in making hay while the sunshines. Plans are devised, ambitious projects are set on foot, only to enable certain Officers to fill their pockets. The scandal of Paroda Dam for the repair of which, not only the engineers but even the simple masons had been specially brought from Portugal on fabulous-salaries, is notorious. I do not know how to condemn the activities of certain clique of Government Officials who saw in the people an opportunity of making money by trafficking in the food grains entrusted to them by the Government. You might have read how, recently, at the time of wedding of the Governor General's daughter all chief black marketers vied with one another in offering rich presents to the bride. The spectacle would have been comic, had it not been one to make us hang our heads in shame. Ladies and Gentlemen, I shall mention but one more fact before I end this brief sur vey of the situation obtaining in Goa at present. I mean that great stunt the Portuguese Government had started recently, which consists in getting people from abroad to praise the Portuguese administration in Goa. I need but mention here the names of Father Zellner, Andre Sigfield, Zimmermn. Col. Anderson, Donald Hill and others. I beg your forgiveness for having wearied you with what sounds to be a tale of our woes and worries. However my intention had been only to draw your attention in certain significant recent developments that would give you an exact idea of how steep is the slope along which we have fallen into the present state of moral degregation.

6. As I said before, there were occasions when the slumbering volcano of popular wrath broke out. The gallant but unsuccessful attempts by Ranas of Satary, who rose in armed revolt for not less than twenty one times to oust the Portuguese, the uprisings of Cuncolim and Bardez, these are facts every student of Goa's history is familiar with.

7. When Mr. Ram Manohar Lohia defied the ban by making a public speech at Margao on the 18th June 1946, and thus launched a Civil Disobedience movement, he ushered in a new epoch in the annals of Goan history in which people are becoming increasingly conscious of their political rights and of their final destiny—Union with India—which no power on earth can now prevent. Ladies and Gentlemen, I need not remind you how many of our brethren have fought in the mortal struggle in which all of us are locked with the powerful Portuguese dictatorship. Even now, as many as twenty two Congressmen are rotting in jails sentenced from 4 to 28 years of imprisonment.

8. Last year the Portuguese Government proclaimed amnesty to all political prisoners. But that was an attempt to throw dust in the eyes of the public. Time and again we have unmasked such sly attempts on the part of the Portuguese Government, to retrieve its honour irremediably sullied through recourse to barbarous and inhuman measures devised to stifle the independence movement. How otherwise can we explain the fact that only one political prisoner, Shri Evagio George, out of so many has been given the benefit of this much publicised amnesty ? And this benefit too turned out to be fictitious and illuding in case of Shri Tristao Braganza Cunha, Dr. R. K. Hegde, Shri Purushottam Kakodkar and Shri Laxmikant Bhembre. For these amnestied prisoners were not given passport facilities to return to their homeland and they now have to live in Lisbon in worst conditions imaginable. We now learn from reliable sources that fed up with the miserable life they are forced to live in Lisbon almost starving being unable to eke out even a precarious living by doing any work whatsoever, the freed prisoners have now applied to the Government to incarcerate them again in their former prison house at Peniche. Many of our comrades are still undergoing long term imprisonment in Goan jails of Aguada and Reis Magos. And Shri Divakar Kakodkar has been deported recently to Cabo Verde. Many were mercilessly beaten and detained in jails without trials. Many had to leave their homeland to escape the wrath of the Portuguese Government, now frantic with fear for its very existence. Add to this the deeds of horror and shame committed by African and white soldiers who were poured in and are still being poured in large numbers in Goa to intimidate the masses by a show of strength. Besides the maintenance of these African and white soldiers in Goa is proving to be a heavy drain on scanty food resources of the country. If anything has sustained our courage in these times of trials and tribulations it was the thought that we had the moral support of our Indian brothers and sisters who not long ago had wrested their independence from the hands of a powerful nation like England. I need not remind you here the support that the I. N. Congress has extended to our cause by passing various resolutions. We shall always recall with deep gratitude the keen interest Mahatma Gandhi, the father of our Nation, had evinced in political developments in Goa. And we cannot help feeling that if Mahatma Gandhi had been living to day the fate of Goa would have been different. But what are we going to do in the present circumstances. Are

we going to fold our hands and be passive lookers on of what is happening in Goa ? Hoping that somehow Goa, Daman and Diu will become independent ?

9. Ladies and Gentlemen let me impress on your mind how fraught with danger is such a passive attitude. No doubt we are pitted against an enemy who is infinitely superior in strength and resources. There is no doubt also that without an active help from the Indian Union we cannot hope to win our independence. But it is no excuse to slacken our efforts. For if we do it we allow our minds to deviate from the task we have set to ourselves, if we allow our energy to be frittered away in petty quarrels in disputes instead of devoting it to the single task of winning our independence by sheer force of circumstances, be sure, we shall have sunk, by that time, to such a level of degradation that one shall not remain in a position to enjoy the fruits of our independence. It is this thought that has been foremost in our minds when we have repeatedly urged the Indian Government to settle the matter of Goa's independence as quickly as possible. By force if necessary if all other means fail. Besides, we believe that in swift changing international scene Goa is acquiring an immense strategic importance, and we pray and hope that it may not prove to be the thin end of the wedge of the American Imperialism. This has prompted us to renew time and again our appeal to the Government of India's active intervention in Goa affairs. That is why we have claimed from the Indian Government, as much attention to Goa's case as it is given to the Kashmir problem. We therefore humbly beg you, my Indian brethren, to impress upon the Indian Government the need of an immediate intervention with a view to liberating Goa, because we realize the paramount importance of the time factor in our struggle. Portuguese Fascism is trying its utmost to perpetuate its hold on Indian possessions. Any delay on the part of the Indian Government in solving the problem of Portuguese possessions, will only mean one more opportunity for the enemy to consolidate its position, and a bitter disappointments to all the Goans which are anxiously awaiting the hour of their deliverance. Pray, do not misunderstand me.

10. We do not want to shirk our responsibility. We know that it is with our blood that we have to wash the stain that sullies the fair name of Goa. But, let me strike here a note of warning. If this state of frustration that seems to have come over the minds of many Goan workers continues, there is a likelihood of the tremendous energy released by the launching of the Independence movement being frittered away in petty quarrels and disputes among ourselves. Ladies and Gentlemen, the immediate task before us is to keep the desire for independence burning in the minds of the people to close up our ranks and to make unstinted efforts to counteract the slavish habits of thought and action which are the heritage of four and half centuries of Portuguese domination. Let us forget our quarrels, let us not waste our time and breathe over dissensions, over unimportant details like what should be the future set up of independent Goa in the Indian Union. Let us leave these details to be settled by free Goans. In this particular, let us have unqualified confidence in Indian Government. I have no doubt that we shall succeed in achieving our aim. But if we fail to make, and make immediately a supreme effort to attain our goal of Independence, we shall go down in history as the most despicable people as ever lived in this world.

S.B.C.I.D.

Bombay

Interception Report.

Dear friend,

I have read your letter to Dr. Jambavlikar and knew the content. It is no wonder that Dr. Furtado should have stated publicly his opinion about the future status of Goa. With all due regards to his gentlemanly character, I can say as far as I know him for the last 8 months he is not one of these persons who want only pro-Maharashtrians to be bound by the constitution and themselves to be free from any such restrictions. We at this stage are unable to check such persons who do not know their responsibility.

My exams are over and on 12th April 1951 I had been to Doda Marg to hold elections at Savantwadi Branch. Only day before yesterday I returned.

Our president Dr. Carvalho had been here on last Sunday and with his consultation, a meeting of the working committee has been scheduled to be held on the 19th of this month at Belgaum to discuss over many important problems and over your suggestions too. I have been asked by the President and others too to invite you for the meeting. I, therefore, on behalf of them and myself request you to attend the same and lend your valuable advice to the working committee. Hope you will comply with our request.

I would also like to request you to draft the manifesto you are contemplating, and some resolutions which you would like to be placed before the subjects committee for discussions.

More when we meet, requesting you once again to join us on the 29th April 1951.

A good number of workers from Goa are expected to attend the W. C.

Yours truly,
(Signed) V. N. LAWANDE,

To,

Peter Alvares,
Socialist Party,
National Home,
Bombay.

No. 4023/H,
S. B. (I) C. I. D.
Bombay 12th May 1951.

Secret
To

The D. S. G. P
C. I. D. I. B. Bombay State.
Gamadia House Warden Road,
Bombay-26.

Reference this office secret endorsement No. 2329 CN/H dated the 3rd May, 1951 forwarding a copy of intercepted letter from Shri V. N. Lawande General Secretary, the National Congress (Goa), to Shri Peter Alvares.

I shall be thankful to you if you will please furnish me with a report on the proceedings of the meeting referred to in the letter.

Signed
Commissioner of Police,
S.B. (I) C. I. D. Branch.

Copy to D. I. G., C. I. D.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 10th May 1951.

Sanzgiri Elected Goa Congress Chief

Bombay, Wednesday.

Dr. Kashinath L. Sanzgiri, a prominent medical practitioner of Goa has been declared elected president of the National Congress (Goa) for the

year 1951-52. The other three candidates who had contested the election withdrew their candidature in his favour.

An active worker of the Congress in Goa right from the inception of the people's freedom movement in 1946, the doctor has worked as the President of the organisation in Goa in 1947-48, at a time when the Congress workers were victimised by the Portuguese Government.

Dr. Sanzgiri has already left Goa to preside over the third Annual Session of the Congress to be held in the city on May 19.

RESOLUTIONS

I. National Congress (Goa) mourns with the Nation the sad and untimely death of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Sane Guruji, Yusuf Meherally and Thakkar Bappa. This loss to us at this critical period in our history is difficult to make up.

The great task set for himself by the Sardar, the task of unifying India and eliminating the pockets of Foreign influence in the country remains incomplete. Goa has particular reasons to deeply and sincerely mourn the irreparable loss by this great patriot and statesman at this juncture when his iron hand was badly needed.

Undoubtedly all these four leaders, men of outstanding leadership, ability, and integrity played a historic role in shaping India's freedom. Each played its part in his own unimmitable manner. Each had a particular approval to the problems of reconstruction of our country and their individual contribution to the neighbourhood" were of immense value. That our country should have lost all four of them at this period is a tragedy. We can only hope and pray that the people of the country will carry on their great work in the manner they tried to do.

The National Congress (Goa) sends its message of condolence to the families of the deceased leaders.

II. The third Annual Conference of the National Congress (Goa) records its emphatic protest against the non-extension of the much publicised Amnesty to the Goan Political prisoners exiled from Goa.

The Amnesty at the first instance excluded the Goan prisoners inspite of the fact that Goa was supposedly a part and parcel of Portugal. Agitation against the discrimination laid the Fascist Regime to ostensibly extend the application to the Goan prisoner.

But this was only an attempt to throw dust in the eyes of the Goan people and the world at large. The Goan prisoners removed from the Island of Peniche to Lisbon where they continue to be virtual prisoners as they are not allowed to return to Goa from Portugal.

The so called Amnesty therefore is a hoax perpetrated by the Portuguese Fascists to silence the demand that the Amnesty be made fully applicable to these Goan Patriots as it was applied to the Portuguese political prisoners.

The National Congress (Goa) therefore resolves to demand the immediate liberation of the following Goan Patriots namely Shri Tristao Braganza D'Cunha, Dr. Ram Hegde, Purshottam Kakodkar and Laxmikant Bhembre still in Portugal and their repatriation to Goa.

III. The Third Annual Session of the National Congress (Goa) condemns the action of the Portuguese Government regarding the deportation of Shri Divakar Kakodkar without trial, for an indefinite period to Cabo de Varde. on the false plea of misleading young students.

IV. The Third Annual Session of the National Congress (Goa) strongly protest at the unilateral action of Portuguese Government in promulgating "The Public Security Act" (on 22nd June 1950) which imposes restrictions on political workers in Goa and thereby forces them to lead a humiliating life.

V. Not only in view of the fact that Goa is a part and parcel of India but also because of humanitarian point of view, it is the bounden duty of Goans to help our brethren in Bihar in their present plight.

This Conference, therefore, appeals the Goans to respond whole heartedly to the call given by the Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru to the nation.

VI. This Annual Conference appoints the following Tribunal consisting of the following persons as required under the Constitution of the National

Congress (Goa).

1. Dr. Antonio Furtado.
2. Shri L. J. D'Souza.
3. Shri S. S. Kavlekar.

Goan Affairs-National Congress (Goa) Bombay Branch, 19th May 1951

Let us March Forward Together

It is a strange irony of fate that even after full three years of India's emergence as a Sovereign Republic in the comity of nations, some of her people should find it necessary to meet together in a conference " to devise ways and means " to clear her sacred soil of the last vestiges of colonialism

These three years of freedom have rolled by and the people of the French and Portuguese settlements in the country today find themselves in the same predicament as they were when the whole country was herself engaged in the grim struggle for freedom. The high hopes that after the freedom of India would come their emancipation, to which these people had pinned their faith, have been shattered. These crucial years to them have been a period of misery and frustration, dejection and humiliation. When the archbishops of Imperialism like Churchill-Amery at long last succumbed to the freedom urge of a subject people and allowed the proverbial Sun to set on one of their mightiest empires in the world, the petty chapel priests of Portuguese and French colonialism, deliberately ignoring the writing on the wall, are still trying to clutch to the last straw. And this tragic drama is being enacted within the geographical limits of India which has expressed in no uncertain terms to the whole world her determination to fight colonialism in any shape or form anywhere on the surface of the globe.

Today the fate of the people of Portuguese and French possessions is decided not by their countrymen who are at the helm of affairs in their country and to whom they are attached culturally, geographically economically, and in every other respect, but by foreign powers whose only claim to rule over them is a matter of historical accident. The savage sentences passed by the French and Portuguese powers in India on the Mahe patriots and the illustrious sons of Goa glaringly demonstrates to what degree the fate of three unfortunate people of India is dependent on the whims and caprices of these foreign rulers.

How long will these people continue to be the victims of the inhuman emasculations and barbarous outrages on their own soil? How long will the challenge of these foreign powers to the sovereignty of our country will go unheeded? To a large extent the answers to these questions depend upon how the people of these possessions act.

It is indeed most fortunate that for the first time in the history of our freedom movement and that of the people of French settlements, we meet together in a conference to forge a united front against our common enemy, namely, colonialism. No other time was more opportune for such a unity and solidarity among our ranks than today when we are groping in the darkness with our friends sitting on the fence and foes ruthless. In our zeal to depend on others for our deliverance we are apt to forget that freedom is not a gift from heaven but an objective to achieve which no amount of suffering and sacrifice is too great. Let us not lose sight for an instant of the objective before us by dragging ourselves into controversial issues and indulging ourselves in painting pictures of the future status of Goa or Pondicherry. Let us clearly realise that our future is safe in the hands of our accredited and acknowledged leaders who have gone through fire and flames for the freedom of India.

For the present, let us march ahead, shoulder to shoulder with courage, determination and, above all, faith in ourselves.

Deportation of Prisoners

News from Goa

Mr. Kakodkar Deported.—According to reports received from Goa, Mr. Divakar Kakodkar who was arrested by the Portuguese authorities in Goa in 1949, and who was since detained at the Aguada Fort without trial, has been deported to Cabo de Verde, a Portuguese colony in Africa, in the first week of this month. Mr. Kakodkar who was a school teacher at Kakoda, a village in Goa, was arrested for allegedly working for the Tass, the Russian News Agency.

It is also reliably understood that Mr. P. P. Shirodkar, President of the National Congress (Goa) for the year 1947-48, Mr. Guilhereme D'Souza Ticlo, Secretary, Dr. Vinayak Mayenkar, Treasurer, and Mr. Nilkanth Karapurkar, a member of the Working Committee, who were arrested in December 1948 and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment each, have received orders from the authorities to be prepared to leave Goa. It is expected that they will be deported to a far off Portuguese colony very shortly.

About the President elect of the National Congress (Goa)

A prominent medical practitioner of Goa, Dr. Kashinath L. Sanzgiri. President-elect of the National Congress (Goa) for the year 1951-52, had a brilliant academic career. Dr. Sanzgiri who believes in silent constructive work among his brethren ran a primary school at Velha Goa, a village in Goa for a considerable period. The people's movement which was started in Goa in 1946 under the leadership of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, brought Dr. Sanzgiri in its forefront. He was elected president of the National Congress (Goa) for 1948-49 in Goa. Since then he has been a member of the Working Committee of the Congress in Goa. At a time when the workers of the National Congress are the victims of the ruthless barbarism of the Portuguese this doctor carried on the activities of, the Organisation silently and smoothly. This speaks volumes for the doctor's faith in the cause and his courage.

Dr. Sanzgiri's election as a President of the National Congress (Goa) for the second time is a clear testimony of the faith and confidence placed in him by the Goans.

Matters of Momeat

Import Facilities for Goa Suspended :—Exchange facilities for import of certain goods to Portuguese territories in India hitherto provided by the Reserve Bank of India, were suspended early last month. As a result import of food grains to Goa is seriously hampered and prices of food grains in that territory have gone up at least by 50 per cent.

Soon after the announcement by the Reserve Bank of India, it was reported in a section of the Press that the Government of Portugal had decided to restrict trade facilities hitherto granted to Indian nationals in Portuguese controlled African colonies as a ' retaliatory measures '. It was also reported that the Government of Goa were seeking a substantial release of Sterling from the State Bank of Pakistan to overcome the trade blockade.

The reports, however, were contradicted by the Acting Consul-General of Portugal in Bombay. A press note of the Ministry of External Affairs which said that the suspension of the foreign exchange had no political significance, advised the public " not to place any credence in such reports which are of a purely speculative character. "

"Observers" in Pondicheery : G. O. I's Attitude Explained :—The Prime Minister of India told the Parliament early last month that " the Government of India do not regard themselves as bound to accept any findings that may result from the visit of the team of observers ". The Observers had arrived in Pondicheery at the request of the French Government in order to see whether the conditions prevailing there were suitable for holding a referendum.

The Prime Minister, however, declared that the Government of India had agreed that the referendum in the French settlements in India should be supervised by a team of observers appointed by the President of the International Court of Justice.

Goa Governor Recalled :—The Governor-General of Goa, Captain Dias was called back last month by the Government of Portugal. Though the reason for this sudden recall is not yet known, it is understood from reliable sources that he will be replaced by a civilian Governor-General with full powers. The new Governor General will arrive very shortly.

Portuguese Subsidy to Bombay Journals :—Replying in the affirmative to a question in the Parliament whether the Government of India were aware of the number of Anglo-Portuguese and Anglo-Konkani journals published in Bombay and other parts of India championing the cause of Portuguese domination over Goa, Dr. B. V. Keskar, Deputy Minister of External Affairs. Government of India, stated that a number of these journals received assistance from the Portuguese Government in India. In view of the Government of India's policy of respecting the freedom of the press, they did not propose to take any action against these journals " unless circumstances arise which necessitate such action, " he added. The Government of India had drawn many times the attention of the Portuguese Government towards the activities of these journals. He would not go so far as to say that these activities constituted interference in India's domestic policy, but there was no doubt that such help by, foreign capital was undesirable.

To a question in Bombay Legislative Assembly, the Home Minister Mr, Morarji Desai replied that there was no ban in the State of Bombay on the entry into and sale of any periodicals published in Goa. He said that the State Government had no information as to how many periodicals published in the State had been banned in Goa.

Troops in Goa :—A Portuguese Liner with 500 expeditionary soldiers plus sub-altern officers arrived in Goa last month to relieve the forces there. They were accompanied by General Pinto Monteriro who will inspect Portuguese Army forces in its Eastern colonies.

Cultural Congress Condemns Restrictions on Civil Liberties in Goa :—The Indian Congress for Cultural Freedom which met in Bombay some days back passed resolutions expressing its grief at the limitations placed in the Portuguese possessions in India on the freedom of expression and expressed its solidarity with the writers and artists affected, in the assertion of their freedom of expression.

Organisational news Bombay

Dr. B. V. Keskar addresses Goons :—Addressing a mammoth rally of Goans at the Blavatsky Lodge on March 23, Dr. B. V. Keskar, Deputy Minister of External Affairs once more reiterated the stand of the Government of India *vis-a-vis* the Portuguese possessions in the country. The occasion was a public reception accorded to him by the Bombay Branch of the National Congress (Goa).

The Government of India, Dr. Keskar said, refuses to recognise colonial domination anywhere in the world, and much more so when it is our own kith and kin in this sub-continent who are in shackles. Economically, geographically, culturally and in every other way the foreign possessions were linked to India.

Dr. Keskar made it clear that the ultimate decision as to what their future status should be, rested entirely with the people of Goa themselves. They had, he said, in the course of centuries of foreign domination got used to certain cultural modes. It was only right, therefore, that they should take their own time to adopt themselves to the rest of India.

" Time and history are on our side and there is, therefore, no need whatsoever to force any issue ", Dr. Keskar declared.

Election of New Delegates :—All the branches of the National Congress (Goa) were busy last month electing new delegates for the year 1951-52. The Bombay branch at its meeting held at the Forbes Gujarati Hall on April 8, elected the prescribed number of delegates. While the majority of the old delegates were re-elected, the election introduced a good deal of " young blood " in the organisation.

BELGAUM

Election of the President of the National Congress (Goa) :—Dr. Kashinath L. Sanzgiri, a prominent medical practitioner of Goa was declared elected President of the National Congress (Goa) for the year 1951-52. All the other three candidates who had contested the election having withdrawn their candidatures in his favour. Dr. Sanzgiri was declared elected.

Public Reception to the President elect.—Dr. Kashinath L. Sanzgiri, who was on his way to Bombay from Goa to attend the Third Annual Session of the Congress and the Joint Conference of the Pro-merger parties in the French settlements and the National Congress (Goa) to be held there on May 19 and 20, was given a rousing public reception on May 8, by the Belgaum City Congress and the City Branch of the National Congress (Goa).

Poona. Dr. Sanzgiri was given a public reception here by the Poona Branch of the National Congress (Goa) Mr. Haribhau Phatak, a veteran Congress worker presided. Dr. P. G. Jambavlikar, President of the Belgaum branch of the National Congress (Goa) and Mr. Vishvanath Lawande, General Secretary of the organisation speaking on the occasion paid warm tributes to the services rendered by Dr. Sanzgiri to the cause of Goa's emancipation.

Almost all the branches of the National Congress (Goa) had telegraphically conveyed their satisfaction to the Prime Minister of India at the restriction imposed by the Government of India on the import facilities hitherto granted by it to the Portuguese in Goa. Public meetings were also held under the auspices of many branches of the National Congress (Goa) to explain to the Goans the implications of the action of the Government of India.

So that the people may know the History of the National Congress (Goa) is a Saga of Blood and Tears

A month more and the people's movement in Goa will complete five years. The crucial period which has added a glorious chapter to the history of the freedom fight of the Goans, has witnessed in Goa a veritable hell let loose by the fascist regime of Salazar. The repressive measures adopted by the Portuguese in Goa to quell the rising of an unarmed people and the savage sentences passed on the illustrious sons of the soil under farce of justice will make Hitler blush in his grave !

Though the freedom movement started in June 18, 1946 under the leadership of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia failed to achieve any tangible results, it undoubtedly brought to the forefront countless patriots who, casting aside personal considerations, became the torch bearers to the down trodden people of Goa. There is not a single Goan to-day whose head does not bow in reverence to the sufferings and sacrifices of these selfless sons of Goa.

National Congress (Goa) was born out of the blood and tears of these brave sons of the land. Even after three years of its existence to-day the Portuguese in Goa have not succeeded in suppressing the urge of Goans to be free and to identify themselves with the flesh of their flesh in the Indian Union.

The people of Goa still march ahead with courage under the banner of the National Congress (Goa). On the occasion of the Third Annual Session of our Congress we reiterate unequivocally our desire to be free from the foreign yoke and pledge ourselves anew to complete the task left unfinished by our countrymen lagging in Portuguese jails.

These Goans are Still Rotting in Foreign Jails in Free India

Lisbon

Shri Tristao Braganza D'Cunha (8 years), Dr. Ram Hegde (8 years), Shri Purshottam Kakodkar (9 years), Advocate Laxmikant Bhembre (4 years) and Advocate Jose Inancio Layola (4 years).

Aguada Fort

Pandurang P. Shrodkar, Guilherme D'Souza Ticlo, Dr. Vinayak Mayenkar, Shri Nilkanth, Karapurkar (15 years each), Shri Prabhakar Sinari (12

years), Shri Mukunda Dhakkankar (6 years), Shri Dattatraya Deshpande (28 years), Shri Narayan Naik (28 years), Shri Jayavant Kunde (28 years) and Shri Raghuvir Kamat (10 years).

Reis-Magos :—Shri Shetye, Shri Fati Naik, Sakharam Pednekar, Anant. Shirodkar and L. Shirodkar (18 years each and the last one 16 years).

Cabo de Verde.

Shri Divakar, Kakodkar (detained without trial).

Advocate Laxmikant Bhembre has been refused repatriation by the Portuguese authorities in Lisbon even after the completion of his sentence on the ground that " his presence is not desirable in Goa."

Sd.

Inspector of Police,
Gamdevi Police Station.

Bombay City Special Branch (I) May 20, 1951.

National Congress (Goa) 3rd Annual Session.

The third Annual Session of the National Congress (Goa) was held at Blavatsky Lodge Hall, French Bridge, Bombay on May 19, 1951 under the presidentship of Dr. N. V. Rajkumar (Foreign Secretary) Indian National Congress. About 250 persons attended.

Dr. Rajkumar, inaugurating the Conference, paid tributes to the patriots who were in jail undergoing imprisonment either in Goa or in Lisbon. Dr. Rajkumar, referring to the Portuguese Government's refusal to Government of India to enter into negotiation regarding the future of Goa, said that it was an insulting reply to the Republic of India. He emphasised that Goa was a part of India physically, geographically and linguistically. He said that according to the Jaipur Congress resolutions, the Government of India were carrying on negotiations with the French and Portuguese Governments in a peaceful manner, who were both reluctant to do so. He therefore suggested to tackle the question on a more rational—practical manner, by putting it before the people of India as well as Goa in order to get their support and help. He exhorted the Goans to forget their differences and to unite to achieve the freedom for their country. He said that other questions such as, whether they should have an autonomous state, whether they should merge with Maharashtra, whether they should have prohibition or not, could be solved after the achievement of freedom. He said that they should decide whether they wanted to live under a foreign domination or live as free people. He then referred to the temptations given by the Portuguese Government and said that they must see whether the temptations given are really beneficial to common man. He also said that they should not think in terms of getting some thing from the Government of India for having supported the merger of Goa with Indian Union.

Prof. Lawande read out the report of the National Congress Goa for the year 1950-51, Shri Peter Alvares read the statement on the policy of the National Congress Goa. Dr, Kashinath L. Sangiri read his presidential speech.

*Joint Conference of the Pro-merger Parties in the French Settlements in
India and the National Congress (Goa)*

Bombay 21st May 1951.

A joint conference of the pro-merger parties in the French Settlements in India and the National Congress (Goa) was held at Blavatsky Hall, French Bridge, Bombay 4, at 5 p.m. on May 20th, Dr. N. V. Rajkumar. (Foreign Secretary, Indian National Congress) presided.

About 300 persons, including delegates belonging to nine different political organisations in Goa, Daman and Diu (Portuguese territories), Pondicherry, Karaikal, Yenan of the French Territories.

On the platform a portrait of the Father of the Nation was kept and was garlanded.

Dr. Kashinath L. Sanzgiri, welcoming the guests (Shri S. K. Patil and Dr. N. V. Rajkumar) requested Shri S. K. Patil to inaugurate the conference.

Shri S. K. Patil said that the people living in Goa and in French Settlements were restless as they were not getting any help from the people of India for the achievement of their freedom. He told them that armed intervention was not possible, nor advisable in the case of these Foreign territories in India, because with the achievement of independence, India assumed special responsibilities with the result that she had to tackle the question through the diplomatic channels only.

Referring to the Jaipur resolution passed by the Indian National Congress, he said that the resolution had given the right of self-determination to the people living in the foreign territories in India and that it was for them to decide whether they should merge with India or should have autonomous state. He further added that, considering the above resolution, it was therefore for the people of those foreign settlements to create conditions which would compel their rulers to hand over the administration to the sons of the soil.

He warned the French and the Portuguese Governments to take lessons from the "explosive situation existing in various parts of the world, caused by the upsurge of nationalist movements and requested them to hand over the possessions immediately, in the interest of international peace. He assured the delegates that the Indian National Congress would support the people in their freedom struggle.

After delivering the inaugural speech, Shri S. K. Patil left the Hall at about 6-15 p.m.

Dr. Rajkumar, in his presidential speech, referred to the agreement arrived at between the French and the Indian Governments to hold a referendum in the French possessions in an impartial manner, and said that the authorities in these territories were acting contrary to the above agreement and that they were taking certain measures in order to have referendum in their favour. He believed that if an immediate referendum were held in the French settlements, it would go against India on account of the coercive measures adopted by the French authorities.

He told that the Government of India wanted to negotiate with the Portuguese Government through the diplomatic channels and that the Portuguese Government had refused to discuss the matter. He said that these territories closely inter-related to India culturally, linguistically, economically and as such they should be returned to India immediately.

He believed that the future of the foreign possessions could not be solved on a Governmental level. He therefore suggested that the people

of Goa and the French settlements should give a fight in a peaceful manner similar to the fight given by the Indians to the British.

Four resolutions were unanimously passed.

Mr. Gnana Venmani, well-known nationalist leader of French India, supporting the second resolution, said that the time had come to take immediate steps regarding the transfer of the foreign settlements in India by direct negotiations by the Governments concerned.

Various other speakers, viz. Shri V. N. Lawande, Fleury, J. J. Shinkre, Dr. Sanzgiri, Shri S. Perumal, J. V. Kamat, Muniswamy, spoke on the resolutions.

The Conference terminated at about 8-45 p.m. peacefully with the singing of *Vande Mataram*.

The Task before

The National Congress Goa, Bombay Branch.

28th May 1951

GOAN AFFAIRS

The long cherished desire of the National Congress (Goa) to put up a united front of the people of Goa and the French settlements in India, against the two colonial powers in the country, namely, France and Portugal, has at last come to fruition, with the holding of the Joint Conference of the National Congress (Goa) and the representatives of the pro-merger parties in the French settlements.

Besides the fact that the Conference will have the proud privilege of having in its deliberations the sagacious and mature counsel of public men of India of the calibre of Dr. N. V. Rajkumar, Foreign Secretary, Indian National Congress, and Shri S. K. Patil, Mayor of Bombay, the proposed Co-ordination Committee of five persons from the foreign settlements which will meet frequently to formulate plans for the elimination of colonialism in the country, will go a long way in fulfilling the objective of the Conference.

The conference will have thrust a heavy responsibility on the representatives of the down-trodden people of these settlements. The unfortunate people of these territories who are the victims of the barbarism of their fascist rulers look anxiously to their countrymen outside the settlements for their deliverance. Let us, therefore, clearly realise the herculean task before us. Let us not fail our countrymen. Let us prove worthy of our great country, India.

Resolutions adopted at the Conference of the Representatives of the people of the French and Portuguese settlements in India, held on 20th May 1951, in Bombay :

Moved from the Chair

I. This Conference sends its greetings to all those who have suffered and are still suffering in the fight for freedom of these Foreign Settlements and in particular to those who are still rotting in prisons under intolerable conditions.

II. This Conference of the representatives of the people of the French and Portuguese Settlements in India, asserts the inalienable right of the people of these areas to reunite with their Indian Motherland.

The people of these areas are impatient to free themselves from the Foreign yoke and have waited for four years in the expectation that the Government of India's diplomatic attempts would help them in attaining their freedom.

Recent developments however have shown that the French and Portuguese imperialists have no intention of leaving their settlements in India and quit gracefully as the British have done.

The French Government who have agreed to hold a referendum in their Settlements to decide their future have taken every measure to see that a referendum favourable to them is stage managed and parade the result of such a referendum as the verdict of the people. Under these circumstances, this meeting requests the Government of India to denounce the agreement of June 1948, under which a referendum was agreed to.

As for Portugal, she has bluntly refused to discuss with the Government of India the future of their Settlements in reply to a politely worded request from the latter to do so.

This Conference is, therefore, of the opinion that the time has come when immediate steps should be taken to effect the transfer of the Settlements to India in a peaceful manner by direct negotiations with the Governments of France and Portugal. This Conference hopes that such negotiations ending in an outright transfer of these Foreign Settlements will take place soon. Meanwhile the Conference calls upon the people of the French and Portuguese Settlements to be on the alert and to prepare themselves for a possible movement for the achievement of their freedom in case the attempt to solve the problem by negotiation fails.

If and when such a movement is launched, our people expect every sympathy and help from the people of Free India in their struggle and trust that such support would be available in ample measure.

Moved by Shri Gnana Venmani.

Seconded by Shri V. N. Lawande.

Supported by Shri Fleury.

Supported by Shri J. J. Shinkre.

III. This meeting of the representatives of Foreign Settlements in India, (Goa, Daman and Diu of the Portuguese and Pondicherry, Mahe, Karaikal and Yenan of the French) assembled in Bombay is of the opinion that there exists a great need today for a common approach to the problem of national freedom of the Indian territories under foreign rule. The liberation movement in one area is the counter-part of such a movement in another.

Imperialism of whatever type manifests certain characteristics which must be effectively met on all fronts. The Co-ordination of all fronts against Imperialist is the greatest force for its destruction. The forces of freedom, small and isolated in their expression in these areas, will derive great moral and material benefit if they are co-ordinated in their efforts against their common enemy, the French and Portuguese. With this purpose, in order to co-ordinate the struggle of freedom on the international and national fronts, this Conference appointed the following committee to co-ordinate and advise the various pro-merger organisations in their fight for the integration of these territories with the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India. The members of the Co-ordination Committee are :

Shri C. E. Bharatan, Shri S. Perumal, Dr. K. L. Sanzgiri, and Shri Lambert Sarawane.

Moved by Dr. K. L. Sanzgiri,

Seconded by Shri Raghavan,

Supported by Shri Gilbert Rebello and

Shri C. Ramanujan.

IV. This Joint Conference of the representatives of the people of the Portuguese and French Settlements in India deplores the restriction on Civil Liberties imposed by the French and Portuguese Governments in these settlements. The Conference pledges not to rest content till the Civil Liberties in these parts are restored. In the opinion of this Conference the fight for Civil Liberties is only a means to the end, namely the emancipation of these Settlements from the yoke of the French of Portuguese rule.

Moved by Shri Dadala Ramanya, Seconded by Shri C. E. Bharatan. Supported by Shri J. V. Kamat and Shri Muniswamy.

**PARTIES IN THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA
PARTICIPATING IN THE JOINT CONFERENCE.**

- (1)French India National Congress.
- (2)Pondicherry Town Committee.
- (3)National Front of Liberation.
- (4)Pondicherry Merger Committee.
- (5)Mahe Socialist Party.
- (6)Republican Party.
- (7)Bharat Yuvak Sangh.
- (8)Mahe Mahajan Sabha.

National Congress (Goa)

Joint Conference of the pro-Merger Parties in French and Portuguese Settlements in India.
Bombay City, S.B.I. May 23, 1951.

The 3rd Annual Session of the National Congress (Goa) was inaugurated by Dr. N. V. Rajkumar (Foreign Secretary, Indian National Congress) at Blavatsky Lodge, Bombay on May 19, 1951, Dr. Kashinath Sanzgiri presided and about 250 persons attended.

Dr. Rajkumar while inaugurating the conference paid tributes to those patriots who fought for freedom of Goa and who have been arrested and lodged in jail by the Portuguese Government either in Goa or Lisbon. He emphasised the fact that Goa was a part of India, geographically, economically and linguistically and that it was the duty of Goans to eschew their differences and organise to give a strong fight to liberate Goa from foreign yoke. He added that Goans should formulate plans for the elimination of colonialism on effective and proper basis.

The other speakers were Dr. Kashinath Sanzgiri, President, Shri Lawande and Peter Alvares. They criticised the Portuguese rule and hoped that the Indian Government would help towards the solution of the problem of Portuguese possessions.

On May 20, 1951 a joint conference of the Pro-merger Parties of French Settlement in India viz., French India National Congress, Pondicherry Town Committee, National Front of Liberation, Pondicherry Merger Committee, Mahe Socialist Party, Republican Party, Bharat Yuvak Sangh, Mahe Mahajan Sabha and the National Congress (Goa) was held at Blavatsky Lodge. Shri S. K. Patil, Mayor of Bombay and President of the B.P.C.C. inaugurated the conference. About 300 persons attended and Dr. N. V. Rajkumar presided.

Shri S. K. Patil in his inaugural speech pointed out that the people in the Portuguese and French Settlements in India were restless because they were not getting any help from the Indian Union. He explained the relations of Indian Republic with the world powers including Portugal and said that a free country would have to abide itself by the international diplomatic charters. He assured that the Indian National Congress would always sympathise with the people of foreign pockets fighting for their emancipation from foreign yoke and warned the French and Portuguese Governments to be wise and to restore the territories to the sons of the soil..

Dr. Rajkumar criticised the French Government for adopting certain coercive methods with a view to have the referendum in their favour and said that such tactics were quite contrary to the agreement arrived at by the Indian and the French Governments. He hoped that Government of India would also move the Portuguese Government to come to agreement and solve the question of Goa and other pockets. He expressed that people of Goa should join together and do constructive work to achieve their objective and assured them that their future would be settled in accordance with the Jaipur Resolution which lays down that people of foreign pockets after liberation may merge with the neighbouring states or may have autonomy.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted in the conference : —

(1)The conference sends its greetings to all those who have suffered and are still suffering in the fight for freedom of these Foreign Settlements and in particular to those who are still rotting in prisons under intolerable conditions.

(2)This Conference of the representatives of the people of the French and Portuguese Settlements in India asserts the inalienable right of the people of these areas to reunite with their Indian Motherland, and is of the opinion that time has come when immediate steps should be taken to effect the transfer of the Settlements to India in a peaceful manner,

(3)This meeting of the representatives of Foreign Settlements in India, (Goa, Daman and Diu of the Portuguese and Pondicherry, Mahe, Karaikal and Yenan of the French) appoints Shri C. E. Bharatan, S. Perumal, Dr. K. L. Sanzgiri, Peter Alvares and Lambert Sarawane as members of the Co-ordination Committee to form a co-ordinated front against imperialism.

(4)The conference deplores the restrictions on Civil Liberties imposed by the French and Portuguese Governments and pledges not to rest content till the civil liberties in these parts are restored.

Dr. Rajkumar convened a conference of the representatives of the National Congress (Goa) and the United Front of Goans at the Congress House, Bombay, on May 21, 1951, to find ways and means to bring about the union of these two parties. The National Congress (Goa) was represented by Dr. Jambavlikar, Dr. Kashinath Sanzgiri, Shri Lawande, Borker, Kamat. Frank Andrade with 20 others and the United Front of Goans was represented by Shri Waman Desai, F. Mascarenhas, Lambert Masca-renhas, J. M. DeSouza, S. DeSouza* S. V. Fernandiz and Louis Mendes.

The representatives of the United Front of Goans maintained that they would come together if both parties would be dissolved and a new party with the manifesto of the United Front Goans as its goal, is formed. They also insisted that Goa when freed, would be administered by the Goans and would be responsible to the Centre.

The National Congress (Goa) maintained that Goa after its liberation would have to merge with its neighbouring state viz. Bombay State. The Unity parleys did not achieve any success. However it was unanimously decided to form a committee consisting of 6 members, 3 from each party, with Shri M. U. Mascarenhas, ex-Mayor of Bombay, as its Chairman to explore means and ways to unity of the parties.

Sunday Bharat dated 20th May 1951

Time to Launch Goa Freedom Movement is Now—Rajkumar

Dr. N. V. Rajkumar, Secretary, Foreign Department-Indian National Congress, told Goans in Bombay that the time had come for them to decide the method of liberating Portuguese possessions in India, because the foreign Power did not seem amenable to a settlement of the question on diplomatic level.

The refusal of the Portuguese Government to negotiate a settlement with the Government of India was an insult to the self-respect of Indians, he said while addressing the third session of the National Congress (Goa) on Saturday.

Dr. K. L. Sanzgiri, who presided appealed to the Government of India to intervene immediately to liberate the Portuguese possessions. He urged Goans to close up their ranks and strive first for deliverance from foreign domination, and then think of the details of governance and privileges.

"Liberty is Birthright"

Dr. Rajkumar requested the Goans to make sure in their own minds if they desired political freedom. If they did they should think of liberty as their birthright and not as a point to bargain with India for special privileges.

He appealed to the people of India to help their brethren in Portuguese possessions to achieve independence.

Goans, he said, should close up their ranks. Dissensions would help the Portuguese authorities to entrench themselves. The Portuguese connived at differences among Goans by bestowing favours on some.

Political liberty should be the motive force of their struggle, Dr. Rajkumar told the Goans. The details of the kind of Government and the privileges and rights of Goans could be settled later on.

An Unedifying Question

It was unedifying to hear some Goans ask, "What would India give us if we integrate"? It should be the proud privilege of every Goan to struggle for the elimination of all foreign possessions on the fair land of India.

One might ask Goans what Portugal had done for them economically socially and culturally. Even those who feared the clamping down of prohibition in Portuguese possessions might take solace from the statement of Prime Minister Nehru that the privileges and rights of the merged territories would not be curtailed or abolished without ascertaining the wishes of the people. People in foreign possessions, therefore, should think of liberty and not the small details which could be decided later on.

Immediate Action

Dr. Sanzgiri pressed for immediate action for the liberation of Goa. He warned that the sense of frustration in the minds of some Goan political

workers might spread to others, and then there was the danger of " the tremendous energy released by the independence movement being frittered away in petty quarrels and disputes among ourselves."

He exhorted Goans to bestir themselves in the task of liberating themselves. Though the power that held them down was strong, agitation should not slacken. He called on the Government of India for help. The matter called for urgency, because in the changing international situation, " Goa is acquiring an immense strategic importance."

Dr. Sanzgiri charged the Portuguese Government with deceiving the public by their " amnesty" to political prisoners. In fact, only one prisoner got the benefit of the amnesty ; the others were released but denied pass-ports from Portugal to India so that they were worse off than prisoners in that foreign land.

Hoax of Amnesty

The session passed a resolution condemning the hoax perpetrated by the Portuguese Government by their " amnesty" to political prisoners. The political prisoners released continued to be prisoners as they were not allowed to return to Goa from Portugal. The immediate repatriation of the Goan patriots was demanded.

A condolence resolution on the death of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Thakkar Bappa, Sane Guruji and Yusuf Meherally was adopted.

A policy statement, which emphasised that political liberty should be the primary aim of Goans and the future set-up of Government should be left to the choice of the people was adopted. It also asked that an Interim Government should take over between the time of liberation and formation of a truly representative Government.

Secret.

No. 2/CSP/51-III.

Office of the Deputy Inspector General of

Police, C. I. D., B. S. Bombay-26.

Dated 11th June 1951.

Reference. Your No. 4023/H, dated 12th May 1951 regarding a meeting of National Congress (Goa) etc.

D. C. P. S. B. C. I. D., Bombay,

The proposed meeting of the Working Committee of the National Congress (Goa) scheduled to be held on 29th May 1951 at Belgaum was not convened for reasons not known.

(Signed)

for D. I. G. P., C.I.D. Branch.

We Salute the Martyrs

The National Congress (Goa), Bombay Branch, 9th August 1951. Ninth of August the day which has occupied a unique place in the annals of Indian history. Nine years ago, on this day, the whole world witnessed an enslaved nation make the last bid to break the shackles of foreign domination, under the inspiring leadership of that Prince of Peace, Mahatma Gandhi.

It was the last desperate effort of a mass of humanity stripped clean by an alien power of its most sacred belonging, its liberty, to be the masters

of its own soil. It was the clear realisation on their part that no amount of sacrifice was too great to achieve their objective that made the Indian people stand like walls of granite all unarmed, against one of the mightiest empires in the world, with the faith in their cause as their only weapon.

The period that followed was a period of blood and tears, sufferings and sorrow. An orgy of torture and tyranny which was let loose by the henchmen and hidings of the foreign power in India had in its sharp claws not only our mothers and grand-mothers as the victims of a beastly lust, but it laid its hands even on our flower sisters and brothers on whose lips the mother's milk had not yet dried up. These brave sons and daughters of India sprinkled the plant of Freedom with their blood so that it may grow and bear fruit for the benefit of their countrymen.

To these countless soldiers of Freedom, we bow in reverence to-day. To us, Goans, who have yet to breathe the air of freedom, the memory of martyrs will not only be a constant reminder of the Herculean task ahead of us but it will be a source of inspiration and courage.

On this sacred day, therefore, let us solemnly resolve once again to be free sons and daughters of our great motherland, India. Let us awake, arise, or else we shall be forever fallen.

The Conference of Foreign Settlements in India

In an attempt to rescue the future of the French and Portuguese settlements in India (Pondicherry, Mahe, Karaikal and Yanan of the French and Goa, Daman and Diu of the Portuguese) the National Congress (Goa.) invited all the pro-merger organisations to a joint conference on Sunday, the 20th May 1951 in Bombay. For, the refusal of the Portuguese to even discuss the future of Goa and the manoeuvres of the French in securing for the anti-merger elements a majority in the town municipalities have resulted in a statement.

The joint conference in its realisation of this situation convened this conference. It appointed a co-ordinating committee of Shree C. E. Bharatan, S. Perumal and Peter Alvares of Goa to co-ordinate and advise the various pro-merger organisations in their struggle for freedom on the national and international front. It accepted the policy that the two freedom movements in the French and Portuguese Settlements are a part of the common struggle against imperialism rather a part of the common effort for India's complete freedom.

But its main emphasis was in the categoric and outright rejection of any referendum of the people of these areas to decide the freedom of those areas and their integration with the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India. It demanded the abrogation by the Government of India of the June 1948 agreement with the French which provided for a referendum to ascertain the desires of the people in the French Settlements. With this decision the position of the freedom movement in both the French and Portuguese areas has gone back to the stage of "direct action if no freedom by peaceful negotiation". There was an unanimous opinion in the conference that the policy adopted was a refreshing departure from the statements that had ensued and that it would rescue the freedom forces from despondency and the stage of inaction into which they had fallen.

To appreciate the potentialities of the new approach, it is necessary to understand the structure and character of the two movements in these areas. Perhaps, the greatest single drawback of the movements had been the disunity in the ranks of the freedom forces and the absence of any policy and principles on which the movement is founded. The existence of more

than one pro-merger party has divided into separate organisational loyalties the few fighters for freedom that are there to-day. In the absence of any basic policy of the method of freedom and its future, each pro-merger organisation has built up its own atmosphere and sought satisfaction in the righteousness of its policy. As the freedom fighters are ranged separately into organisations so are the few followers of each organisation. This situation has provided for the foreign Governments an opportunity to sow the seeds of disunity and spread confusion. More than one such pro-merger organisation is just the creation of the ruling power. It is partly to give cohesiveness to objectives and organisation that the National Congress (Goa) has just adopted a policy statement to rally the people of Goa on the basis of its principles. Its adoption as far as Goa, it is hoped, will set at rest the various issues that are raised about the cultural future of a section of its people and of the future political status under which the areas of Goa, Daman and Diu are to be governed in the interim period and in the future.

A section of the structure of the organisations also determines its character. A movement that is confined to a few active persons cannot be characterised as a mass movement. In the areas under reference this has encouraged the foreign administration to attempt to divorce the people from the organisations. To a very small extent they have succeeded. Spurious pro-merger organisations have sprung up, ostensibly collaborating with the other genuine aspects of the movement, but in reality spreading confusion on the ideological and organisational front. If, however, the people would have been integrated into the movement by broad-basing the freedom organisations this would not have been possible. The present character of the organisations must immediately change so as to cease to be an expression of a few individuals and in its place to represent a democratic and mass movement of the people for freedom.

This new characteristic will also have its corresponding effect upon the method of struggle. The efforts which have been of a propaganda nature by a large extent will now have to be educative and activist. If the structure and character of the movement develops on the lines indicated above then it is certain that the people and the Government of India must sit and take action. The people of India, who are at the movement occupied with their own problems have not given their attention to these areas hitherto, forgetting that as long as these settlements remain, India and they are not completely free. If a broad-based movement is developed positive help is sure to be available from the people of India.

With this background it remains to be seen to what extent the co-ordination Committee of the pro-merger organisations of the foreign Settlements in India will bring about a change in the character and development of the liberation movement. The adoption of a basic policy is the first initiative in this respect. All the members of the committee are agreed upon the need to broad-base the organisations and the fact that plebiscite has been categorically rejected implies that freedom by direct action is envisaged if direct negotiations by the Government of India fail. With these accepted prerequisites it now remains for the leaders of the various organisations to translate them into practice. The first effort will be made on the 9th August which has been adopted as the day to be celebrated annually to mark the new approach to freedom of these areas. It is just possible that 9th August, which has a spiritual link with the Indian freedom movement, indicates the final phase of the movement in these areas as also its character and method or struggle.

What the National Congress (Goa) Stands For

There have been efforts by the opponents of the National Congress (Goa) and other vested interests to misrepresent and misinterpret the aims and objects of the organisation with a view to serving their selfish ends. In order to dispel any such misunderstanding in the minds of Goans in particular and Indians in general, the National Congress (Goa), placed before them a statement of policy, which was unanimously adopted by the Third Annual Conference of the organisation held in Bombay in May 1951. We have decided to give it in the columns of *Goan Affairs* serially for the benefit of our readers. The statement of policy can be had in the form of a booklet from the Bombay branch of the Congress at Jagmohan Mansion, Avantikabai Gokhale Street, Girgaum, Bombay-4.

The Objectives

A. The objective of the National Congress (Goa) and of the movement of the people under its leadership is the attainment of the freedom of Goa, Daman and Diu from Portuguese rule and their integration with the Sove reign Democratic Republic of India.

B. With the attainment of India's freedom from British rule there still remain a few territories in India under Portuguese and French rule and domination. They are Goa, Daman and Diu under the Portuguese and Pondicherry, Mahe, Yenan and Karaikal under the French. As long as these areas remain under foreign political domination and the people of these areas continue to exist in political and cultural servitude, and so long as they continue to do so, the freedom of the people and the territory of India is not complete. It is, therefore, incumbent upon the people of these areas, as also upon the people of India as a whole to carry on an irresistible struggle for freedom of their areas from their respective imperial rules, to provide for themselves conditions of political, economic and cultural free dom in which their personalities and potentialities can have full scope for development, and also to enable the people of India as a whole to realize the complete fulfilment of their long standing objective the full personal and territorial freedom from all foreign rule.

Basic Policy

A. *Organisational* : Even though the question of Goa's liberation is a part of the question of India's freedom itself, yet the primary responsibility of freeing the territories of India from Portuguese rule must rest primarily on the initiative and efforts of the people of Goa themselves. In this firm belief and confidence in the victory of all progressive forces the National Congress (Goa) is endeavouring to organise the people of the areas of Goa, Daman and Diu, wherever they may be, for the liberation movement.

On the method and manner of the freedom struggle will depend very much the character and content of that freedom. The National Congress (Goa) believes that the freedom for the mass of the people can be effectively and correctly organised only if the people themselves are organisationally integrated into the liberation movement. In this belief, the Congress will constantly endeavour to draw more and more people into its organisation and activities so that the people themselves may determine its policies and shape the political, economic and cultural future of these areas.

The democratic way of life is never more securely established than when the participants in a liberation movement base their deliberations

and actions upon the consent of the people and acquire the habit of democratic behaviour, which develops itself as a second nature in the process of development.

B. Co-ordination of Freedom Efforts: The various movements for National Freedom are but expression of one liberation movement. To be effective in their total effort they must be properly integrated. From this point of view the National Congress (Goa) recognises the freedom movement of the people of French India as a part of the movement of the Indian people as a whole, and its own counterpart in another area. The strategy of freedom movement is the same basically though their tactics may vary. Progress of such a movement in one area is bound to support and further the forces of its counterpart in another area. Both lend strength to one other. To derive the maximum benefit from these two parallel movements, the objectives of which are identical, the National Congress (Goa) has invited the Pro-Merger organisations in the French territories in India to a conference to help co-ordinate the two movements on the freedom front and derive mutual aid and benefit from each other's activities.

SO THAT THE PEOPLE MAY KNOW

Those whom God wishes to destroy He first makes Mad

Imperialists all over the world have a habit of refusing to read the writings on the wall by trying to clutch to the last straw. By resorting to the age-old tactic that ' the noisy man is always in the right they prefer to forget that in imperialism nothing fails like the temporary success Which its devotees derive in throwing dust in the eyes of the world by resounding plus platitudes through press and platforms !

The latest devotee of the credit to fall in line is Commandante Quintalhae Mendonca Dias, the erstwhile Governor General of the so called Portuguese India. Speaking at the Portuguese Industrial Exhibition held in Lisbon recently, this representative of the Portuguese Colonialism is reported to have boasted, in a desperate attempt to prove to the world the claim of the Portuguese to be in Goa, that the Portuguese gave Goa not only a new culture and a proud place on the map of the world but also they made available to them " the legacy of the Portuguese blood and the noble name of Portugal."

These irresponsible remarks, apart from making a selfrespecting Goan pity the person who blurts them, for the ignorance of the historical facts he displays, will not fail to rouse in him indignation and anger. To say that a foreign race differing from the people of Goa culturally, religiously, linguistically and in every other respect, gave " the legacy of the Portuguese blood" to them is the height of sacrilege which the Portuguese who have squeezed Goans dry with their four century old inhuman emasculation of them and stripped them bare of all their noble and sacred belongs, are alone capable of doing.

The clear proof that Goans are the flesh of their brothers and sisters in the Indian Union lies in the fact that the ruthless barbarism and religious persecution adopted by their alien rulers for the last four centuries have not in the least succeeded in destroying their rich cultural heritage they had derived from India before the Portuguese set their feet on her soil. The Portuguese rulers who have succeeded in quelling the people's movement to be free from their clutches, with their military strength can afford to ignore this inevitable fact only to their detriment.

Let Commandante Quintanilhae and others of his school of thought clearly bear in mind what the greatest statesman of our times, Mahatma Gandhi, had told the former's predecessor, Jose Bossa :

" Surely the truth is that the Portuguese coming from Portugal are strangers, whether they come as philanthropists or as governings, exploiting the so called weaker races of the earth."

*An open letter to the Goan people on the 4th Anniversary of India's
Independence*

United Front of Goans

Dear Countrymen,

We have the pleasure to address you this letter in commemoration of the 4th Anniversary of India's Independence, an event of unique importance in the annals of India, and remind you of your own freedom. Let us pause on the Memorable Day and try to understand the true meaning of the word " FREEDOM ", which has come resounding down through the corridors of the dawn of man. Freedom is not a mere economic necessity for a material, slave like existence. Freedom means man's world of moral, intellectual, dignified and independent living, a realm of his spiritual being. Man's estimation of his spiritual being is symbolized by the consistency of his pursuit and struggle towards it, and his readiness to stake everything else, even his very life, when this being of his is threatened by evil forces. No amount of feeding him, without his freedom, would satisfy him in his urge and desire of living. When even a bird is not satisfied in a golden cage with all found but freedom, how can a human be ? And above all, how can a Goan be when, under the Portuguese, Goa constitutes for him neither that golden cage nor ' all found ' in it? Freedom to the Goans, therefore, means both a factor of economic future and a spirit and will unfettered by brute forces of bondage that degenerates and reduces him to a state of an animal. Let every Goan, therefore, pledge on this day to join the UFG and hasten the goal of liberation.

Know what your UFG Stands for

1. To liberate Goa from the rule of Portugal and to integrate her with the Indian Union on the basis of an Autonomous State.
2. Goa shall have a democratic and Secular Government with the Rights of the people guaranteed in a Constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly elected by the people on the basis of adult suffrage.
3. Every Goan, man or woman, Christian, Hindu or Muslim, shall share full and equal opportunities in the Social, Political and Economic life of the Country, irrespective of caste, creed or community.
4. In free Goa every Goan shall receive his share of benefits in the form of Social Amenities like Village Streets and House Electrification, Village Dispensary, Village Primary Schools, Village Hall of Library and Recreation, etc. etc.
5. The Government of Free ,Goa, in co-operation with the ' Comu-nidades' shall make available cheap lands to the landless people of Goa.
6. The Government of Free Goa, in co-operation with the people, shall work for the abolition of castes and other forms of inequalities prevailing in the economic religious and political life in Goa.

7. In Free Goa, Primary education shall be both free and compulsory.
8. Top priority shall be given to the task of raising the industrial electrical and agricultural level of Goa.
9. The Government of Free Goa shall encourage the co-operative and private enterprises.
10. In free Goa democratic labour legislation shall entitle the workers to organise co-operative labour unions for the promotion of their interests.
11. Each 'Comunidade' shall be the common property of the people living in it, and its affairs shall be managed by its people through an elected Council, and the system of overall supervision by the government that exists at present, shall be continued for the efficient functioning of the Comunidades .

N.B.—The above objectives are of the future, and will be taken up immediately after liberation.

Yours fraternally,
UNITED FRONT OF GOANS,
149, Behram Mahal, Dhobitalao,
Bombay.

The National Congress (Goa)

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C.I.D. August 10 1951.

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa) a public meeting of about 100 persons was held at the Forbes Gujerati Hall, Vithalbhai Patel Road, Bombay, on August 9, 1951, to observe " Foreign Possessions Liberation Day 9th August 1951 ". Shri P. V. Gadgil presided. The President Dr. K. L. Sanzgiri, President of the National Congress (Goa), Shri L. J. De'Souza, S. B. DeSilva, and J. V. Kamat addressed, the audience on the importance of the day on which Mahatma Gandhi had passed the " Quit India" resolution. Similarly the speakers appealed to the Indian nationals in foreign possessions in India to lend support to each other to oust the foreigners from shores of India. Shri P. V. Gadgil explained the difficulties in the way of the Republic of India concerning scarcity of food, hostile attitude of Pakistan and political game of Anglo-Americans to impede the growth of India as a strong nation.

A resolution calling upon the Indian people in Goa, Damaun, Diu which are under Portuguese rule and of Pondicherry, Mahe, Yenan and Kariakal to co-ordinate their efforts for freedom and appealing the people and the Government of India to lend their powerful support to the cause of freedom of the people of these Territories was unanimously adopted.

PUBLIC MEETING

To pay tribute to the memory of Late V. N. Mayenkar on the occasion of his Second Death Anniversary a Public Meeting of Goans will be held on the 15th August, 1951 at 10-30 a.m. in Forbes Gujrathi Hall, Vithal bhai Patel Road, Girgaum.

Shri S. S. KAVLEKAR,
Will Preside.

All are cordially invited to attend.

L.J. DeSOUZA,
for the Organisers

Dated 8th August 1951.

United Front of Goans

Goans ! You are Warned!

Future is a distant object, but it is on its very hope, vision and anxiety that Humanity sustains itself and progresses

Conscientiously almost all Goans know that they are passing through a critical and most difficult phase of their lives today. We see this from the signs of time.

We are hearing of the struggle of the people of Iran for the nationalization of their oil Industries. When they win, which they surely will, their people will get first preference of jobs and, our Goans who are there will be thrown out of jobs. In Africa the native people are becoming politically conscious and they too are already on the march for national liberation and self government. From Africa too, then our Goans will have to quit as the African people will get first preference in their own country. In Pakistan also the future of the Goans will not be the same as it is today. There too their duty to the sons and daughters of their soil will stand first, and the Goans will not find much opportunities.

Which country is prepared to own foreigners as their own? None, naturally, Goans will be unable to go to foreign countries for jobs any more as easily as they are doing today, and those who are already out, will have to return. Remember the fate of the Jews. After roaming the world for over 2000 years, they had to put up a life and death struggle for securing national foothold in Israel. No country would own them. Same will be the case of Goans and perhaps even worse. It is, therefore, unwise for the Goans to forget their motherland for a temporary abode and service in foreign lands. Goa-India is our land of birth and origin. All the nations may disown us, but only our Goa-India will not disown us. But should we fail in our national and patriotic duties we will, some day no far off, become foreigners in our own Goa-India.

Remember this

How can we do our duty towards our Goa-India, our future ? By liberating Goa from the rule of Portugal and integrating her with India on the basis of an autonomous state. As Goa is in India, our future lies in India, and as long as that Goa is with Portugal, we cannot expect any future in India. If we should fail in our national and patriotic duties, we will have failed unto ourselves and our generations to come, and suffer the fate of our folly and ignorance. Tears, then will be of no use. Only action now, when we have yet time and resources at our disposal, will save us.

You are aware that the UFG has been formed for the liberation of Goa and to give the Goans the right lead. But liberation needs moral and financial support of the people. It is the cause of the people and it must be supported by them. There are many easy ways to do it.

Nritya Sangam, with its Galaxy of India—Fame artistes, is staging the Ballet at Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty, 12th August 1951, in aid of the UFG.

This is a thrilling and sensational show, depicting Goans history in an entertaining and educating manner. We appeal to each and every Goan to send at least one member of their family to the Ballet. You will see your past and also ensure your future thereby. How much money do we

not throw out on cinemas and other functions ordinarily. Your support to this Ballet will show how much you care for the liberation of your country and your future.

United Front of Goans,
149, Behram Mahal,
Dhobitalao, Bombay.

In aid of "
UNITED FRONT OF GOANS "
Nritya Sangram's
Spectacular Stage Show.
Depicting Goan Peoples Struggle for Freedom
"**GOA KI AZADI**"
(Indian Dance Ballet in Dazzling Colours)
with
Shakuntala Gopal Pillai
Bijli Manjrekar Chiman Acharya.
Sudha Thakur Sanjeev.
Rajni Kerkar Romesh.
Revati Anil Dutt.
Baby Kalika Vishwanath.
Ramesh Punjabi.
B. Vishwanath.
Kalachandra K. Gopal Shetty Jayalaxmi.
Written and Produced by ... G. S. Kalyanpurkar.
Composed & Directed by ... K. Gopal Shetty.
Music by ... Raghavan Nair.
Songs written by ... Shyam.
Show In Charge ... Bhaskar N. Rao.
Commentary ... Sudhakar Joshi.
Unique of its kind ; Most Impressive & Bewitching a Galaxy of Renowned
Artistes.

On Sunday, 12th August 1951, at 6-30 p.m.

AT

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty.

Tickets :

Shri S. B. DeSilva, remarked that the French Government were more dishonest than the Portuguese in the behaviour towards their territories. The people living in these territories were slaves. He said it was therefore the duty of those who were living out of these territories to strive hard to liberate these territories. He supported the resolutions.

Shri L. J. DeSouza and J. V. Kamat also addressed the gathering in Konkani and supported the resolution.

Shri P. V. Gadgil, in his presidential speech in Marathi, declared the resolutions unanimously passed. He told them that the Government of India and the Indian people were knowing fully well that the Goans alone

would not be able to liberate Goa. He said that the present international situation was not favourable and as such the Government of India could not do anything. Referring to the threat of Pakistan and her war like preparations, he said that India was passing through a very serious situation. The Anglo-Americans were supporting Pakistan on the Kashmir issue ; considering this he requested the Goans to wait for some time when they could expect the help of the Government of India and the Indian people in their struggle of liberation of Goa and the French territories.

With singing of " *Vande Matram*", the meeting terminated at about 8-40 p.m.

The draft resolution for the meeting of the Foreign Settlement Libera-tion Day 9th August 1951.

The freedom loving people of the Indian Territory of Goa. Daman and Diu, which are under Portuguese rule and of Pondichery. Mahe, Yenan and Kariakal and the French assembled on the 9th August 1951 the day to celebrate the fusion of the efforts of the people from Portuguese and French rule—hereby renew their pledge to strengthen and to co-ordinate their freedom and to lend support to each other in the measures adopted to oust the foreigners from shores of India.

This meeting calls upon the people and the Government of India a to lend their powerful support to the cause of the freedom of the people of these territories, which is the cause of the larger and complete freedom of the people of India as a whole.

It assures the Co-ordination Committee of the Pro-Merge Parties of the. Foreign Possessions in India that the 9th August will always remain for them a symbol of the common faith in an effort for freedom and assures the Committee of its wholehearted and determined support to carry out Its directions in the joint task of liberation.

Special Branch (I) C.I.D.,

Bombay, 10th August 1951. Sir,

To observe ninth August (1942) Martyrs' day a public meeting under the auspices of the 9th August Day Celebration Committee, set up by the different left political and trade Union organisations in the city was held at about 6-45 p.m. on 9th August 1951, at Dhuru Hall, Dadar, Bombay. About 100 persons attended and Shri Anant Desai (Ratnagiri) presided

The president, Kumari Tara Shah, Sjts. Murlidhar Parija, Chandrabadan Shukla, Padamanabh and Anant Mahadeo Mandekar made speeches.

Kumari Tara Shah at the outset informed the audience that a committee

consisting of certain persons representing various left political and Trade Union organisations was formed and was named as 9th August Day Celebration Committee. She further added that the present meeting was called to pay homage to memory of the martyrs, who laid down their precious lives for the achievement of real independence of the country. She said that 9th August reminded them of the revolution of 1942 and it was a historic day for the country. She further explained that the workers, peasants and the middle class people were being suppressed by the Congress rulers who only looked the interest of the capitalists. She appealed to the audience to carry on their struggle for the achievement of workers and peasants rule in the country.

Shri Murlidhar Parija during the course of his short speech stated that he was arrested earlier in the 1942 movement and he knew a little about the same. He said that in 1942 the workers, peasants, and the common people supported the call of Congress only because they knew that it was the only representatives body and if the independence was given to the country they would lead better lives, but after getting independence the Congress came into power and forgot the interest of the masses. He said that at present the people were not getting sufficient food, clothes and housing accommodations and were fed up by present Congress Government. He reminded the memory of the martyr's of 1942 movement and appealed to the audience not to forget them in future and would try to achieve the real freedom and would establish the real democratic social government in the country.

Shri Chandrabadan Shukla paid homage to the memory of the martyrs of 1942 movement and said that the country would have achieved independence in that year if the communists had rendered their co-operation with the masses. He said that Mr. Lenin and other communists leaders had different opinion in Russia but they had to come onto one platform for the establishment of Communist in Russia. He also criticising the policy of the present Congress Government said that they were not at all looking to the interest of the workers, peasants and the middle class people. He further added that if the workers tried to go on strike they were deprived of from the same by the introduction of new acts and ordinances. He said that the Congress rulers only see the benefits of the capitalists, lie in the conclusion appealed to the audience to make a strong organisation and mobilise the opinion of the common masses towards it and try to establish the real democratic social rule in the country.

Shri Padmanabh said that at present while the people were suppressed by the Congress Government it was their duty to start a strong organisation and face them in future. He said that the 1942 movement gave them a lesson of achieving the freedom and they could utilise their strength for establishing real social democratic Government by the way shown by the Martyrs.

The other speakers made speeches in Marathi.

The meeting terminated at about 8 p.m. peacefully.

Special Branch (I), C.I.D.,
Bombay, 10th August 1951.

Vidyalaya Students Union.

Sir,

A meeting attended by about 60 students was held under the auspices of the Vidyalaya Students' Union at Shri Mahavir Jain's Vidyalaya Hall, Gowalia Tank Road, at about 8 p.m. on 9th August 1951. Shrimati Violet Alva presided and delivered inaugural address.

Shrimati Alva during the course of her speech said that the students in the period of post-independence had to shoulder more responsibilities in shaping the destiny of their nation as they were going to be shortly the full fledged citizens enjoying the rights guaranteed by the constitution of their secular state. She stated that the students should not be merely carried away sentimentally by the current and cross currents running on the political arena of the nation but they should have clear insight into the political and economical developments which greatly affected the daily life

of the public. Stressing the need of building up national character she stated that the students of the present era should resort to more constructive thinking. She further pointed out that to overcome the present food crisis and shortage of other essential commodities of life, agrarian reforms should be implemented and opinion should be created amongst the public in favour of economical planning on broad democratic principles.

With vote of thanks to the speaker the meeting terminated at about 9 p.m.

Bombay, August 10th.

Socialist Party

Sir,

Under the auspices of the Socialist Party, a public meeting attended by about 1,000 persons was held at the Shivaji Park, Dadar, on 9th August 1951, at about 7-30 p.m. Shri Ashok Mehta presided.

The President and Shri J. P. Narayan made speeches.

The President at the outset told the object of the meeting and further spoke on the importance of the 9th August. He said that this day was being observed all over India by the Socialist Parties.

Shri J. P. Narayan speaking on the importance of the day said that on this day, a great revolution was started in the year of 1942 by Mahatma Gandhi. On that day, Mahatma Gandhi had clearly pointed out that if the British Quit, the peasants and workers Raj would be established in India. But it was a strange thing that now India was a free country there was no workers Raj in India. He, therefore, appealed to them to build that unity under the banner of the Socialist Party which was striving hard to establish peasants and workers Raj in India. He further pointed out that Congress was not observing this day in any part of India. Not only this, no minister of any Government in India was attending the meeting. He said that Congress leaders wanted to forget this day. As they were afraid that if revolution took place in India, Congress Raj would not be any more in India. For this reason only, they were not prepared to observe this day. He asked the Indian people to build that unity and be prepared to establish socialist party's Raj in India through constitutional means.

The meeting terminated peacefully at about 7-45 p.m.

The National Congress, Goa, Bombay

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C.I.D., 16th August 1951

On 15th August 1951 a meeting of about 75 persons was held under the auspices of the National Congress, Goa, at the Anglo Lusitano Institute Hall, Thakurdwar, Dr. K. L. Sanzgiri presiding. The President and Shri Peter Alvares, Father Hubert Mascarenhas-Dabul, G. B. Mahashabde, and A. S. D'Silva made speeches. Father Mascarenhas explained the significance of the National Flag while Shri Mahashabde stated that the Indian Independence was not complete without the Independence of Goa and Pondicherry where lakhs of Indians still have their homes. As the secretary of B. P. C. C. he assured the audience that the B. P. C. C. was thinking seriously over that issue and that it would not be long before those colonial pockets were wrested from the foreigners. Shri Peter Alvares said that the subjugation of Pondicherry, Mahe and Goa was a challenge not only

to India but also to the United Nations. He exhorted the audience to unite for the freedom of Goa and not to depend upon the outsiders. Finally he hoped that a day would come when 15th August would mean not only the liberation of India but also of Goa.

The Bombay Secret, Abstract, dated 18th August 1951.

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa) meetings were held at Belgaum and in Bombay on August 9 to observe ' Foreign Possessions Liberation Day'. A resolution calling upon the people of the Portuguese and French possessions in India to renew their pledge to strengthen their efforts for freedom and appealing to the people and the Government of India to lend them support, was passed at the meeting in Bombay.

The Bombay Secret Abstract, dated 25th August 1951.

At a meeting (75) held in Bombay on August 15 on behalf of the National Congress, Goa, Shri G. B. Mahashabde said that the Indian Independence was not complete without the liberation of the foreign pockets in India. The United Front of Goans, Bombay, issued leaflets exhorting the Goans to strive for the liberation of Goa.

National Congress (Goa)—Public meeting in celebration of Mahatma Gandhi Jayanti.

Bombay S.B.(I), CI.D., October 4, 1951.

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa) a public meeting in celebration of Mahatma Gandhi Jayanti was held at the Forbes Gujarati Hall, V. P. Road on October 2nd, 1951, when Dr. Sanzgiri presided and about 200 persons attended.

Shri Kamat and Dr. Jambavlikar made speeches eulogising the services of Mahatma Gandhi for the freedom of India. Both the speakers appealed to the Goans to follow the preachings of Mahatmaji They exhorted the audience to organise and give a hard struggle to liberate Goa from foreign rule.

Below copies of secret letter No. D-5292/Eur-1/51, dated the 14th September 1951 from the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, and its accompaniment.

Secret

No. 4967/46-A.

POLITICAL AND SERVICES DEPARTMENT,

Bombay Castle, 27th September 1951.

Forwarded with compliments to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, for an early report as desired by the Government of India.

By order of the Governor of Bombay,
(Sd.)

For Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Political and Services Department.

Copy of secret letter No. D-5292/Eur.I/51, dated the 14th September 1951 from the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs.

Subject.—*Development regarding National Congress (Goa) and United Front of Goans—Articles in Resurge Goa.*

I am directed to refer to paragraph II of "Goa Review" No. 13 dated the 20th August 1951 (copy enclosed for ready reference) and to request the favour of an early report on developments with regard to the National Congress (Goa) and United Front of Goans, and also on the reported offensive article " Divide at Regna" by Dr. Telu de Mascarenhas in the "Resurge Goa" of 30th July 1951.

II. CONGRESS

1. J. J. Shinkre and Viegas, President and Secretary respectively of the Bombay Branch of the National Congress Goa, and Frank Andrade. Secretary, N. C. G., are reported to have resigned from the organization protesting against the inclusion of S. B. D'Silva and V. P. Borkar on the Working Committee of the N. C. G. Mahadev Bir and some other workers are likely to follow suit.

II. With the resignation of Francis Mascarenhas from the president ship of the United Front of Goans, the Working Committee members of the U. F. G. are getting in a (Compromising mood) and are making efforts to bring about a compromise between the U. F. G. and the N. C. G. by setting up a co-ordination committee consisting of members of both the organisations. It may be recalled that Dr. Raj Kumar when he visited Bombay last (*vide* G. R. No. 9, dated 7th June 1951), tried in vain to bring both the Goan Political parties together. J. M. D'Souza, Joint Secretary of the U. F. G. is reported to be in communication with Dr. Raj Kumar (Secretary, Foreign Affairs A.I.C.C), President of the N. C. G. and other personalities interested in Goan affairs and has informed them that his organisation is ready for joining the co-ordination committee and has requested them to take immediate steps in the matter.

III. The " Foreign Possessions Liberation Day" was observed at Bombay on 9th August 1951 by the National Congress Goa, by holding a public meeting when K. L. Sanzgiri, S. B. D'Silva, and others made speeches on the significance of the day with particular reference to the "Quit India" resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. on 9th August 1942. A resolution was also adopted calling upon the people of Goa, Damaun and Diu under the Portuguese rule and of Pondicherry, Mahe and Yenan under the French rule to renew their pledge to strengthen and to co-ordinate their efforts for freedom and appealing to the people and Government of India to lend their support to the cause of freedom of the people of these territories.

IV. Telu Mascarenhas, editor of ' Resurge Goa', has written an editorial entitled " Divide at Regna" (Divide and Rule) in the issue of the paper, dated 30th July 1951. This editorial appears to have caused resentment amongst some Hindu Goan workers. Telu Mascarenhas in the editorial observes that the Catholics of Goa are at the forefront of the freedom struggle, undertaking all sorts of sacrifices and hardships and the Portuguese had more support from Hindus. Goan nationalists feel that such articles might give to communal hatred amongst Goan workers. V. N. Lavande, it is learnt, has already written a letter to Mr. M. D. Bhat, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay protesting against such editorials.

Secret

Special Branch (I), C.I.D.,
Bombay November 1951.
4th December 1951.

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Political and Services Department, Bombay.

Subject—Development regarding National Congress (Goa) and
United Front of Goans—Articles in 'Resurge Goa.'

Reference your secret endorsement No. 4967/46-A, dated the 27th September 1951, forwarding copies of secret letter No. D-5292/Eur. 1/51, dated the 14th September 1951 from the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs and its accompaniment, on the subject noted above.

2. Shri J. J. Shinkre, Viegas and Frank Andrade, who had tendered resignations of their membership of the National Congress (Goa) as a protest against the inclusion of Shri S. P. DeSilva and V. P. Borkar in the Working Committee withdrew the same on being requested by a majority of the members of the organisation to do so. These three individuals alleged that Shri S. B. DeSilva and V. P. Borkar were not doing any constructive work but were spreading rumours that the National Congress (Goa) was dominated by Hindus, who would merge Goa with United Maharashtra. Shri Shinkre and his followers therefore held that the presence of Shri DeSilva and Borkar was untenable to the working of the organisation.

3. The National Congress (Goa) is a better organisation and has been doing good work for the Goan freedom movement. It is said that they have got underground workers in Goa who pass on intelligence to their parent body so that the National Congress (Goa) can correctly assess the value of the political situation in Goa as far as it affects the Goan freedom struggle. This organisation is represented by both Hindus and Christians and thereby commands better confidence amongst the Goans.

4. After the resignation of Shri Francis Mascarenhas from the Provisional Committee of the United Front of Goans, there is a split in its leadership. The following two groups claim the leadership of the Front :—

1. Shri Lambert Mascarenhas	Chairman.
Shri Waman Desai and	
Dr. Cristavom Furtado	General Secretary.
Shri Francis Mascarenhas, J.P.	
Shri A. DeCruz	Committee Members.
Ordinary membership	1,500.
2. Shri J. M. DeSouza	General Secretary.
Shri S. X. Mendes	Organising Secretary.
Shri Prabhakar Palgaonkar	Treasurer.
Shri Shankar Haldankar, and	
Shri Mark A. Fernandes	Joint Secretaries.
Shri Imeter Paes	Publicity and Press Propa- ganda Officer.
Working Committee members	6.
Ordinary members	5,000.

Shri Waman Desai, one of the General Secretaries of the Mascarenhas Group has been arrested recently by the Bombay Police under the

Prohibition Act. The reputation of this individual has been lowered due to his arrest. Both the groups are at loggerheads for leadership. Under these circumstances his organization cannot be called a representative body of Goan public opinion at this stage.

5. It is learnt that Shri S. K. Patil, President of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee and Mayor of Bombay took initiative in convening a joint meeting of the representatives of the National Congress (Goa), United Front of Goans and other Goan political workers at the Congress House, Vithalbhai Patel Road, Bombay, on November 18, 19 and 22, 1951 and tried his best to bring about unity among them. After some discussion on the 18th and 19th November, it was decided that all the political workers should unite under any one of the organisations. The representatives chose to join the National Congress (Goa) on condition that it should be reconstituted with adequate representation of the merged parties. The following office-bearers formed the reconstituted working Committee :—

Dr. Sanzgiri	..	President.
Shri J. M. DeSouza and		
Shri Lambert Mascarenhas	..	General Secretaries.
Shri V. P. Borkar	..	Treasurer.
Shri Gajanan Desai	..	Organising Secretary.

When the Committee again met on November 22, 1951 to nominate a few members from each organisation, the representatives of the National Congress (Goa) expressed their views that they could not go against their constitution as there was no provision in it for such adjustment.

6. The representatives of the United Front of Goans (both groups) contended that they could not suddenly dissolve their party. However they could have done it for the cause of liberation of Goa under one organisation. Thus the Unity Talks which were long awaited broke down.

7. After the failure of the talks, Shri J. M. DeSouza requested the representatives of the National Congress (Goa) to join the United Front of Goans in the public meeting which was convened on November 25, 1951 to observe the 25th November as the 'Black Day' in the history of Goa because on that day in 1510 Goa was conquered by the Portuguese and the people of Goa were enslaved. It is reported that the National Congress (Goa) after a lot of bickering, agreed to participate and its President Dr. K. L. Sanzgiri, Shri De'Silva, J. V. Kamat, and others attended the meeting and addressed the audience of about 300 Goans stressing the need of sacrifice for the freedom of Goa. Resolutions demanding the withdrawal of the Portuguese rule from Goa and taking a pledge not to rest content till the freedom is achieved were unanimously adopted.

8. The editorial written by Dr. Telu Mascarenhas, in the issue of "*Resurge Goa*" of which he is the editor has caused certain amount of distrust and suspicion in the minds of the Hindu Goans, because of the observations that the Goans Christians are in the forefront of the Goan freedom movement in contrast to Hindus who are acting as the sympathisers of the Portuguese. Government for small favours. A free English translation of the editorial is appended hereto for information.

9. Dr. Telu Mascarenhas is a member of the National Congress (Goa) and has been taking part in the functions arranged by that organisation in Greater Bombay. The articles in general appearing in *Resurge Goa*,

are so unpalatable to the Portuguese Government that the paper is banned in Goa. The alleged offensive article " Divide and Rule " appearing in the issue of the ' *Resurge*' dated the 30th July, 1951 was not intended to offend the Goan Hindus but to throw light on the trend of Hindu opinion in Goa.

Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

English translation of the article (in Portuguese in the periodical " *Resurge Goa*" edited in Bombay by Mr. Telu Mascarenhas, dated 30th July 1951).

"Divide and Rule".

To divide and rule in order to rule was the classic policy followed by all colonising power from the time of the Roman Empire to the present day. The retaliation, the intrigue, the gifts and favours were the methods employed with ability by the colonisers with the aim to sow discord among the dominated people, to play brothers against brothers, fathers against sons, in order to plant their feet more firmly in the conquered country and then to intervene in the shape of conciliating angels and saviours of the order and prestige of the country that they wanted to dominate.

It was this policy that Albuquerque followed in Goa when he bestowed riches on one Madhav Rao, one Timoja and other renegade Hindus, who at the cost of enslavement of their country wanted glory, honours and fortunes that the conqueror was distributing to those who advised and helped him to subjugate their own brothers of blood and faith. But once the power of the conqueror was consolidated, the traitors received the prize which they deserved : they were ostracised and deprived of their glories, honours and lands which were endorsed in favour of their own (Portuguese) captains. This happened to certain Hindus who had given help to Albuquerque during the conquest and reconquest of Goa and a little later, the same thing happened to the lands expropriated from the Panchayats of Cuncolim, Ambelim and Velim, which from the hands of the renegade Joao da Silva passed to the hands of the Marquis of Alorna (Portuguese nobleman).

In the differences of castes and creeds, which to our misfortune even today exist in Goa, the colonisers found a fertile soil for their policy of " Divide and Rule ". Both flattering and condemning the caste system at the same time, according to their political conveniences, the imperialists have played with accuracy the Goans one against another, creating among them suspicion and deep retaliation and have thus destroyed the unity which once existed among us and which was so much feared by the rulers.

If till today the manoeuvres of the imperialist were limited to the Christian population of Goa, now the game has spread to the other part, the Hindu class. With due respect to our Hindu brothers, against whom has existed and still exists quite unjustly a strong prejudice of faith and costumes of our ancestors and which we cannot repudiate without betraying our deep sentiment of tradition the imperialists have now made a *volte face*. The reason for this fact is chiefly found in great majority of Goans being imbued with strong nationalist sentiment, although a high Indian political personage affirmed to a group of Goan nationalists, Hindus and Christians :—" We suppose that the Hindus are by nature

faithful to the cause of India, we must now attract the sympathy of Goan Christians."

Now the imperialists have started adulating our Hindu brothers, a few of whom we say this with horror are playing the game of our rulers. In return for a small job or a seat on a Committee, our Hindu brothers are becoming renegades to their quality of Indians and to satisfy their vanity look down with disgust their Christian brothers, who with great sacrifices and sufferings are working to emancipate their land from the imperialist rule.

The nationalist Goan Christians openly revolted against the Patriarch of Goa because of his imperialist activities which were a betrayal of his mission as the representative of the Church. The Swami of Partangale, who had already become submissive to Portuguese imperialists, continues to be the docile instrument of our rulers, who are making use of him to influence their view of the Hindu class through spiritual power of that Prelate. In the meantime, not a single Hindu has had the courage to revolt against this abject activity and denounce the betrayal of their spiritual chief. More recently our Hindu brothers in Goa revolted against the amendments to the Constitution which considers the Catholic religion as the official religion. All this makes us believe that the religious spirit is more strong than the nationalist spirit in the majority of our Hindu brothers.

We through the knowledge of our history and our thousands of years of civilization and through the practice of our best traditions are proud of being Indians. It is therefore that our Hindu brothers should not see in this light criticism any animosity against them, but, on the contrary, a strong desire on our part to a just understanding of the present day problem of the unity of all Goans without distinction of caste or creed as the legitimate heirs to the same common patrimony that is Goa !

We should join our hands to fight with courage and devotion against all preconceived ideas of religious order because our dedication to the cause should not fear obstacles of any kind.

Of late the authorities in Goa have entrusted to the same Swami of Partangale a sum of 5 thousand rupees for distribution among our poorer Hindu brothers. This they have done not with any sincere desire to give bread to those who are hungry, but to win sympathy of the Hindus to the Portuguese rule. Poverty like hunger does not recognise difference of creeds. All poor people, Hindus and Christians, have the right for bread as the most precious gift of God, and therefore, we see in this distinction of communalism which the Portuguese make in Goa no other aim than political.

Five thousand rupees, a drop of water in the ocean which are not sufficient to meet the hunger of thousands of Hindus, but will only serve to propagate the generosity of the gift and the sentiment of dubious altruism which moves the Portuguese to proclaim their love to our Hindu brothers. "Alms should be given," said Christ, "in a manner that the left hand does not know what the right hand does." But so much noise was made, of the crumbs thrown, that even citizen Quintanilha (Governor-General) referred to them in his famous speech at the Industrial Fair in Lisbon.

For the imperialists all the methods are legitimate to fulfil their aim of "Divide and Rule".

Sunday Standard, dated 9th October 1951.

Indian Banks are banned in Goa.

Indian banks have been refused permission by the Portuguese Government in India to establish branches in Goa, Daman and Diu.

According to Bombay banking sources at least six major banks had asked for licences to open branches in Goa to facilitate trade between the two territories. But the Portuguese Government declined to allow them to operate branches there.

These sources are now asking the Government of India to withdraw the licence to Banco Nacional Ultramarino, a Portuguese bank operating in India, when it expires on March 16, 1952.

The Portuguese directive is said to be a sequel of the "sterling deadlock" in the Portuguese Settlements following Delhi's restriction on sterling release to Goa.

The Indian Banks Association will discuss the situation on Monday in Bombay.

The Portuguese Consul-General in Bombay Dr. Olivera de Pernado who was aware of the negotiation between the Indian banks and his Government, was not able to confirm the news.

Times of India, 25th April 1952

Goan National Congress

Plea To Minister,

An invitation to the Overseas Minister of the Government of Portugal, who is on a visit to Goa, to study dispassionately the sociological, cultural and economic implications and the consequences of the indisputable geographical fact that the territories in India, now held by Portugal and claimed by her as her own provinces, were part and parcel of the territory of India has been made by the National Congress (Goa) in a written memorandum to be shortly forwarded to the Minister.

The memorandum will be ratified at a mass meeting of Goans in Bombay on Sunday.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I) C.I.D.

The National Congress, Goa

Under the auspices of the National Congress, Goa a meeting attended by about 25 persons belonging to the National Congress (Goa) was held at Raj Mahal Hotel, Kalbadevi on April 23, 1952 where they decided the following programme in connection with the visit of the Portuguese Colonial Minister to Goa :—(1) A press conference at the Taj Mahal Hotel at 5 p.m. on 24th April 1952. (2) Distribution of about 15,000 hand-bills ; (3) Convening a public meeting on 27th April 1952 at the Cross Maidan ; (4) Inviting all the Goan Clubs in Bombay to participate in the same and inviting some prominent Congressmen to preside over the function. Before the meeting a procession to be taken out from Portuguese Church, Girgaum to the Maidan.

On 24th April 1952 Shri K. L. Sanzgiri, President of the National Congress, Goa, addressed a press conference at the Taj Mahal Hotel, and

explained the stand of the National Congress, Goa and details of the programme chalked out by them to protest against the arrival of the Portuguese Colonial Minister in Goa.

About 15,000 hand bills requesting the Goans residing in Bombay, to attend the above meeting and approved of the memorandum to be submitted to the Portuguese Colonial Minister, were distributed in the city.

On 27th April 1952 a procession consisting of about 25 members belonging to the National Congress Goa, started from the Portuguese Church, Girgaum. They were shouting slogans such as Jai Goa, Goa Congress Zindabad, Portuguese Quit Goa, etc. The processionists marched through Girgaon Road, and collected at the Cross Maidan, Dhobi Talao, where they held a public meeting under the presidentship of Dr. M. U. Mascarenhas..... About 350 persons attended. Sjts. Telu Mascarenhas, Lambert Mascarenhas, Jai Kishan, H. Damania, S. B. D'Silva and J. M. D'Souza made speeches, and appealed to the audience to co-operate to achieve their cherished goal. They also assured the audience that one day Goa would be free and merge with India. Concluding Shri S. B. D'Silva explained to the audience the difficulties experienced by the Goans in Goa and remarked that they were not even given civil liberties.

When the meeting was about to be terminated Shri Waman Desai, General Secretary of the United Front of Goans, came on the platform and requested the president to allow him to address the audience for a few minutes. On his request being turned down, he and some of his followers abused the members of the National Congress, Goa. Meanwhile some pro-Portuguese minded people shouted pro-Portuguese slogans in the crowd. Nothing untoward happened.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

National Congress, Goa

On 3rd May 1952 about 10 persons belonging to the National Congress Goa staged a demonstration in front of the printing press called " Goan Syndicate Printers ; 201, Laxmi Kunj, Shivaji Park, as a protest against the Pro-Portuguese and Anti-Indian policy of the Goan paper " *Soth Uloi* " published by the Goan Syndicate Printers. The demonstrators raised slogans such as (1) National Congress Goa Zindabad, (2) Jai Goa, Jai Nehru, (3) *Soth Uloi* Goa-ki-Azadi ka-Dushman, (4) *Soth Uloi* a liar and traitor, (5) Portuguese Quit Goa. (6) *Goa ki Azadi, Hamari Azadi*, (7) *Soth Uloi Akhbar band Karo*. The demonstration started at 4-15 p.m. dispersed peacefully after about half an hour.

3rd May 1952.

It is learnt that about 40 members of the National Congress, Goa, will assemble at the corner of Kohinoor Mill No. 3, Shivaji Park between 3 p.m. and 4 p.m. to-day i.e. 3rd May 1952 and will proceed to the Goan Syndicate Printers, 202, Ramnath Sadan, off Shivaji Park and stage a demonstration in front against its anti-Indian and pro-Portuguese policy.

Bharat, dated 12th June 1952.

Goan Nationalists Protest

A band of new enthusiastic workers known as the Bombay Branch of the National Congress (Goa) : according to a statement issued by the Branch.

At the meeting of the Branch of the National Congress in Bombay a resolution was passed recording a strong protest against inhuman treatment meted out to the Goan Political prisoners.

A spokesman of the National Congress stated that " we succeeded in electing a strong band of active workers as delegates in preference to the old armchair politicians."

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

Goan affairs,

The workers of the National Congress, Goa.

On June 18, 1952, at about 8 p.m., 10 workers of the National Congress (Goa) staged a peaceful demonstration in front of the Portuguese Consulate, Colaba, Bombay, shouting slogans such as " Down with Portuguese Rule in Goa ", " Down with Portuguese Consulate ", " National Congress (Goa) Zindabad ", etc. They dispersed peacefully at about 8-30 p.m. and came to Dhobi Talao Tram Junction. Then the demonstrators and sympathisers numbering about 25 persons marched in a procession from Dhobi Talao to Chowpatty Sands via Girgaum Road. Opera House and Sandhurst Road. At Chowpatty a public meeting was held when Shri J. V. Kamat presided and about 40 persons attended. The President, Shri Shinkre and Marcus addressed the audience. They explained the significance of the 18th June, on which day in 1946 the Goans started their liberation movement. A resolution calling upon the Goans to carry on the struggle for freedom of Goa, Damaun and Diu and requesting the Government of India to help the National Congress (Goa) substantially to free foreign pockets in India was unanimously adopted. The speakers also paid homage to the patriots who sacrificed their lives for freedom of Goa.

The Sunday Bharat, dated 14th September 1952

Goans urge early "Eastern Pact"

The Goan National Union today appealed to Congress President Nehru to call a " third Asian Conference for an Eastern Pact".

The Eastern Pact should be concluded immediately to destroy colonialism, to combat against fresh colonialism and to develop the political, social and economic solidarity of the Eastern countries.

In a detailed memorandum to the Congress President, the newly formed Goan National Union wanted a special conference of India, China and Indonesia with the leaders of native people under colonial rule for " joint consultation and action against the Western colonial scourge. "

The Goan Union said the proposed Asian Conference should warn the Colonial Powers against " the one-sided or misuse of the International Law."

Bharat, dated 22nd September 1952

Goans in S. Africa ' motherland's shame'

Bombay, Sunday.

The Goan National Congress today condemned Goans in South Africa "who take pride in disowning their Indian origin".

"The utterances of these pseudo-Portuguese-de-nationalised Goans are a shame to their motherland and the race at a time when men of our flesh and blood axe gallantly challenging racial discrimination."

The Goans sent greetings to Indians and Africans in South Africa for " their brave determination to fight white tyranny and racial arrogance."

The Congress meeting was held under the presidentship of Mr. Joachim Alva, M.P., who asked the Goans to identify themselves with the Indian culture.

The meeting passed a condolence resolution on the late Mr. K. G. Mashruwala in whose death " India has lost a great patriot, a social reformer and a man of high character."

The meeting welcomed the decision of the Reserve Bank of India refusing renewal of licence of the Banco National Ultramarino to operate in India.

" The closure of the Bank is in the best interests of the Goans outside Goa and of Goans in general" the resolution said adding that Government should not renew the licence " until the facility is reciprocated by allowing established branches of Indian Banks to operate in Goa."

Rev. Dr. H. O. Mascarenhas and Mr. U. K. Oza also spoke.

The Times of India, dated 22nd September 1952.

Racial Policy in S. Africa

Bombay Goans' Protest

A resolution condemning the policy of racial segregation in South Africa was passed at a meeting of Goans held under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa) in Bombay on Sunday.

Mr. Joachim Alva, Member of Parliament presided.

The resolution said that the principle of human rights embodied in the U. N. charter was being thrown to the winds by the white people in South Africa.

The resolution expressed sympathy with the Indians and Africans who have launched satyagraha against racial discrimination and said that if the policy of the South African Government was not put an end to civilisation would be in grave peril.

By another resolution, the meeting endorsed the action of the Reserve Bank of India in refusing to renew the licence of a Portuguese Bank to operate in India.

The resolution appealed to the Government of India not to renew the licence of the Portuguese Bank and unless and until the facility was reciprocated by allowing the establishment of branches of Indian banks in Goa.

The meeting also expressed sorrow at the death of Mr. K. G. Mashruwala.

Mr. Joachim Alva, addressing the gathering, appealed to the various Goan political bodies to unite together to strengthen their struggle for freedom against foreign domination.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

National Congress, Goa

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa) a public meeting attended by about 100 persons was held at I. I. I. Hall, Burrows Lane, Girgaum, Bombay, on September 21, 1952. when Shri Joachim Alva presided and Shri D. K. Oza, Rev. Fr. M. O. Mascarenhas and Shri L. J.

D'Souza addressed the audience. All the speakers expressed sympathies for the South African struggle and complimented the Reserve Bank of India for the closure of the branch of Portuguese Bank (Banco Nacional Ultramarino) in Bombay. The speakers condemned the racial differences and appealed to the audience to fight for the Goan Freedom in an United manner.

Secret.

Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

Bombay, 7th December 1952.

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay,

Political and Services Department, Bombay.

Subject.—National Congress (Goa), Bombay.

His excellency Brigadier Paulo Bornard Guedes, the new Governor General of the Portuguese possessions in India and his wife arrived in Bombay from Portugal by air on the evening of November 6, 1952 and drove to the Taj Mahal Hotel where both stayed in suite No. 240-41.

2. Hearing this news, about 25 members of the National Congress (Goa) under the leadership of Shri A. J. DeSouza, Secretary of the N. C. G. collected at 8-15 a.m. this morning in front of the Taj Mahal Hotel with black flags and anti-Portuguese placards and staged a demonstration.

The Placards bore the following inscriptions :—

" Freedom from Portugal and Union with India, " Goans Mangat Gaumachi Soher ", " Portuguese Raj Khatam Karo ", " Release Goan Leaders ", " Go Back ", ' Repatriate Goan Patriots from Portuguese Africa", " Stop, Stop, Stop Police Terror, Court Martial, Dungeon Tortures", " Imperialists, Quit India", " Goa Hindustan Ki Janata Ek Hai". The demonstrators shouted the following slogans : " Portuguese Governor, Go Back", " Goans demand, Quit Goa.", " Goa ki Jai", " Jawaharlal Nehru ki Jai ", " Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai ". Shri George Vaz, Secretary, Goan People's Party, with his 4 associates also joined the National Congress (Goa) members in the demonstration.

3. As the demonstrators attracted a crowd on the footpath in front of the Taj, they were taken to the Colaba Police Station. However, those who had to attend their work were allowed to go at about 9 a.m. and the remaining were sent away at 2 p.m. when His Excellency the Governor-General left for Goa by road. The demonstration was peaceful.

Commissioner of Police,
Greater Bombay.

Bombay, 7th December 1952

Brigadier Poulo Bernard Guedes, the new Governor-General of the Portuguese possessions in India arrived in Bombay from Rome by plane yesterday and is putting up at present in the Taj Mahal Hotel at Bombay. He has been accompanied by his wife.

As information was received that there would be demonstration by the Goan Peoples Party and the National Congress, Goa, necessary Police arrangements for his protection and to maintain peace were made in and around the Taj Mahal Hotel.

At about 8-15 a.m. to-day, 29 members of whom 23 belonged to the National Congress, Goa, and the rest of the Goan Peoples Party, arrived

outside the Taj Mahal Hotel carrying placards and black-flags and shouting slogans that the Governor General of the Portuguese possessions should go back. As they continued to make a nuisance of themselves, they were requested to leave the place but as they refused they were brought to the Colaba Police Station. Their names are as follows :—

- (1) Shri J. Castelne.
- (2) Shri A. Pareira.
- (3) Shri Francis Estibero.
- (4) Shri J. A. Choduekar.
- (5) Shri S. D. Narvekar.
- (6) Shri B. Y. Haloankar.
- (7) Shri A. W. Warlekar.
- (8) Shri P. T. Pareira.
- (9) Shri S. S. Carvelho.
- (10) Shri Stephon D'Souza.
- (11) Shri S. X. Mendos.
- (12) Shri G. Pareira.
- (13) Shri A. Fernandes.
- (14) Shri J. O. DeSouza.
- (15) Shri V. Pinto.
- (16) Shri B. N. Welingkar.
- (17) Shri P. S. Lobo.
- (18) Shri Tony D'Souza.
- (19) Shri Govind Pandurang Naik.
- (20) Shri M. R. Pai.
- (21) Shri Stanley Fernandes.
- (22) Shri Laxman Shiva Parab.
- (23) Shri S. D. Guitonde.
- (24) Shri R. M. Fernandes.
- (25) Shri A. J. DeSouza.
- (26) Shri H. DeSouza.
- (27) Shri George Vaz.
- (28) Shri Mark Fernandes.
- (29) Shri Ceasar DeSouza.

The Governor-General of the Portuguese Possessions in India, left Bombay to-day by car in the afternoon.

The above persons detained by the Police have been allowed to go by me under the Provisions of Sections 68 and 69 of the Bombay Police Act, 1951 and no further action is contemplated against them. No force has been used against any of them.

Government may kindly approve of my action.

For Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

No. C/344

OFFICE OF THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF POLICE,
Poona, 9th August 1951

CIRCULAR :

Subject.—Portuguese India

Promotion of pro-Indian feelings in—

A case has come to notice in which an office bearer of the United Front of Goans was arrested by the Police of this state at the time of staging anti-Portuguese demonstration on the occasion of a private reception

accorded to H.E. the Governor-General of Goa at Bombay. Government of India have pointed out that this action by the Police will discourage pro-Indian element in Goa.

2. In view of the present international situation Government considers such step most undesirable. This should be borne in mind by the police while taking any action in similar cases in future. The Commissioner of Police, the D.I.G.P., C.I.D., and S.P.S. should bring this to the notice of all concerned so as to obviate a repetition of such an incident.

(Sd.)

For Inspector General of Police, Bombay.

Bharat, dated 1st December 1952

Goans Demand Release of Politicals

Bombay, Sunday.

A mass meeting of Goans at Dhobi Talao Cross Maidan today condemned the Portuguese Government for " The barbaric treatment meted out to Goan Political prisoners since 1946 and their continued detention in jail and exile in far off penal settlement".

The meeting, which was organised by the National Congress Goa, demanded the immediate release of all political prisoners and their return to the bosom of the people.

Mr. Peter Alvares, Vice-Chairman of the Congress, Dr. N. Bhembre and Mr. J. V. Kamat, addressed the meeting.

Speakers told the gathering that since Indian Government's efforts to free Goa through peaceful negotiations with the Portuguese Government had failed the people of Goa should resolve to achieve freedom by themselves.

Bombay City Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

The National Congress, Goa

Printed Leaflets " A letter to the Pilgrims to St. Xavier's Tomb " issued by the National Congress (Goa), Central Office, Belgaum were freely distributed to the pilgrims at Ferry Wharf, proceeding to Goa to attend the religious ceremony of St. Francis Xavier. In the leaflets it is pointed out that the Portuguese Imperialists want to use our dear Apostle as a prop to support their tottering toy empire in the East. Seeing that the sword of Albuguerque has become rusty, they wish to exploit our love for the Saint, to hold us in bondage. They say that Francis Xavier, who was a Spanish by birth, Indian by adopt and Chinese by death, is a Portuguese. We know that he who taught our ancestors that it profits nothing to gain the whole world if we lose our soul, will deliver us that are oppressed out of the hand of the oppressor. Brethren, we welcome you. Teach us to be free as you have become. When the chains of our hands are broken and the gag from our mouth is torn away you and we shall join in a loud chorus to sing the praises of St. Francis Xavier the Apostle of the East."

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

The National Congress, Goa

The National Congress (Goa) held a public meeting at Cross Maidan, Dhobi Talao, Bombay, on November 30, 1952 to celebrate the Goan Political Prisoners Day. Shri M. P. Bhembre presided and about 400 Goan

Christians attended. The President, Shri Peter Alvares, and Janardan Kamat made speeches. They pointed out that the Goans started the struggle for the freedom of Goa from Portuguese since 1946 and appealed the Goans residing in India to lend their moral support to the political movement for the liberation of Goa from foreign domination. They also exhorted them to contribute to the Political Prisoners Sufferers' Fund. A resolution condemning the attitude of the Portuguese Government in continuing the detention of the Goan Political Prisoners in distant penal settlements and complete absence of Civil Liberties in Goa was unanimously passed.

The B.S.P.—Secret Abstract, dated 13th December 1952

A meeting (400) was held under the auspices of the Goan National Congress in Bombay on November 30 to, celebrate the Goan Political Prisoners' Day. Speaking on the occasion, Shri Peter Alvares and others appealed to the Goans residing in India to lend moral support to the political movement for the liberation of Goa from foreign domination. A resolution was adopted condemning the attitude of the Portuguese Government in detaining the Goan political prisoners in distant penal settlements and in curbing civil liberties in Goa.

Black Flag Demonstration at Taj Mahal Hotel, Apollo Bunder, by members of National Congress Goa and Goan People Party.

Sir,

At 8-15 a.m. persons collected on the footpath opp. Taj Mahal near sea wall, with 8 Black flags and 17 other cloth and cardboard placards bearing the writings as under :—

- (1) Freedom from Portugal and Union with India (National Congress Goa),
- (2) Goan peoples party.
- (3) Liberate Goa from fascism,
- (4) Down with Portuguese fascism,
- (5) Goencar Mangtajt Gaumachi Sother,
- (6) Portuguese Raj Khatam Karo,
- (7) Release Goan leaders,
- (8) Go back,
- (9) Repatriate Goan patriots from Portuguese Africa,
- (10)(10) Sutka Korat Goa Mae Deshchi,
- (11) Stop, Stop, Stop, Police terrors, Court Martials, Dungeon torture,
- (12) Imperialists, Quit India,
- (13) Friangi Raj noixt zamn,
- (14) Goa-Hindustan ki Janata Ek hai;

The demonstrators were shouting the following slogans :—

Portuguese Governor, go back",
"Goans demand, Quit Goa", ,
" Goa ki Jai",
"Portuguese Fascist Raj chod do",
"Bono Khila Tod Do",
"Jawaharlal Nehru ki Jai",
" Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai".

At 8-45 a.m. the demonstrators were taken to Colaba Police Station and detained. Some office going men were allowed to go and some have been detained till the departure of the Governor General, Goa. The particulars of the demonstrators 29 in number are as under:—

- (1) Shri A. J. D'Souza, Secretary, National Congress, Goa, O.C.C. Clerk in Lloyds Bank H.O. Res. Ramkrishna Bldg., Ground floor, Burrows Lane, Thakurdwar, Bombay.
- (2) Shri S. D. Gaitonde, Treasurer, National Con. Goa OCC Service in Premier Automobiles Mechanic Foundry, Wadala, Res. 103, Hindu Colony, Dadar.
- (3) Shri D'Souza, a delegate of N.C.G.O.C, Representative of Olivetti typewriters Res. Atmaram Bldg., A Block, top floor, Burrows Lane, Bombay.
- (4) Shri S. S. Carvalho, Ex-Secretary of N.C.G.O.C, Clerk in Lloyds Bank, Res. Peoples Colony H. No. 116/3, Goregaon.
- (5) Shri Mark Fernandes, a working committee member of N. C. Goa OCC, Service in Gogal and Co., Fort, Res. Wasaiwalla Bldg., Top floor, Apollo Street.
- (6) Shri Joe Castelinho, N. C. Goa, delegate, OCC. Servant in Times of India, Res. Wellingdon Terrace, Block 6-D, Room 24, Dhobi Talao.
- (7) Shri Bhaskar N. Welingkar, Member of National Congress, Goa OCC Tailor, Res. Girgaum Terrace, B Block, R. No. 7, Benham Lane.
- (8) Shri Stanie D'Souza N.C.G. student Res. Rele Bldg., Burrows Lane, Bombay-2.
- (9) Shri Francis Estibeiro, delegate of N.C.G., clerk in City Civil Court, Bombay, Res. 19-20, Block 6-D, Wellingdon Terrace, Dhobi Talao, Bombay.
- (10) Shri S. D. Narvekar, Member of N.C.G. OCC. Student in Victory Classes, Res. Sagardande Bldg., 1st floor, R. No. 8, Sadashiv Lane, Girgaum, Bombay.
- (11) Shri Stephens D'Souza, Member of N.C.G. OCC. Service in Mahalaxmi Tailors, Kandewadi, Res. Old Khar, Silva Bldg., No. 80, Ghodbunder Road.
- (12) Shri Prabhakar Yeshwant Haldankar, N.C.G., Member OCC Jeweller, Res. Kiln Lane, Old Hanuman Bldg., R. No. 49, 2nd floor, Lamington Road.
- (13) Shri P. S. Lobo, Member of N.C.G., Student, Res. 82, Trinity Street, Bombay.
- (14) Shri A. W. Warlekar, Member of N.C.G., student, Res. 2nd Sonapur Lane, Ganesh Bhawan, Room No. 3, Bombay-2.
- (15) Shri J. A. Chodnekar, N.C.G., Service, Res. J. K. Bldg. No. 7, 1st floor, Gamdevi, Bombay-7.
- (16) Shri F. T. Pareira, N.C.G. Pharmacist, Res. Wasaiwalla Mansion, Top floor, Apollo Street.
- (17) Shri A. Pareira, N.C.G., Student, Res. Wasaiwalla Mansion, 3rd floor, Apollo Street.
- (18) Ceasar D'Souza, N.C.G., student, Res. Golden Jubilee Bldg., 2nd floor, R. No. 19, Burrows Lane.
- (19) R. M. Fernandes, N.C.G., student, Res. Wasaiwalla Mansion, Apollo Street.
- (20) Laxman Shiwa Parab, N.C.G., Student, Res. Manilal Mansion, Block 5, Lamington Road.

(21) Stanley Fermrades, N.O.G., OCC. Nil, Res. Mogul House.
Delisle Road.

(22) M. R. Pai, N.C.G. OCC. Nil, Res. Gulchand Baug, Kalina, Santacruz.

(23) Govind Pandurang Naik, N.C.G., Nil, Res. Manilal Mansion, Bl. No. 5, Lamington Road.

(24) Tony DeSouza, N.C.G., Res. Railway Bldg., Burrows Lane, Bombay.

(25) George Vaz (Secretary of Goan Peoples Party OCC Artist, Res. Mogul House, Delisle Road.

(26) V. Pinto, G.P.P. OCC. Nil, Res. 45-A, Tayelji Bldg., 1st floor, R. No. 13, Pathakwadi Road, Bombay-2.

(27) G. X. Mendos, G.P.P., OCC. Textile technician, Res. No. 13, Tayelvi Bldg., Pathakwadi, Bombay-2.

(28) G. Pareira, G.P.P. OCC. Student, Res. Wasaiwalla Mansion, 3rd floor Apollo Street.

(29) Shri A. Fernandes, G.P.P. OCC. Service, Res. 40, Wellington Street, Bombay-2.